000

SOUTH DAKOTA

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS

COMPILED BY THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME IV

1908

[p. i]

1908
PRESS OF MARK D. SCOTT
SIOUX FALLS, S. D.

J00

The Aborigines of South Dakota.

PART II.

The Mandan Indians.

BY CHARLES E. DeLAND.

000

NOTE BY DOANE ROBINSON.

Students of northwestern history who examined Mr. DeLand's History of the Arickara, contributed to the third volume of this series, will, I am fully persuaded, want to have this compilation of the material available relating to the Mandans with Mr. DeLand's commentaries thereon.

These two papers complete the undertaking of Mr. D. to gather in comprehensive and comprehendable form all of the known authorities relating to the primitive inhabitants of this region, and I am sure the consensus of opinion will support my view that the history of the northwest has received invaluable service at his hands.

ABORIGINES OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

PART II.

The Mandan Indians are the subject of this second part of the treatment of the Aborigines of South Dakota, as were the Aricaras or Rees of Part I. In closing the present paper, however, some recurrence will be had to the Rees in connection with their ancient habitat on the Missouri in South Dakota and further south, as indicated by some evidences which have come to light since the first paper was published. 800

The Mandan Indians, "People of the Pheasants," or "People of the East," as they have termed themselves, or "Bearded Whites," as they were called by some French Canadians who first heard of and came among them, have been regarded by the explorers and chroniclers who have visited and made a study of them, as aborigines possessing some peculiarities and some excellencies which distinguish them from Indians of America in general to a degree which has aroused special curiosity and unusual speculation as to their ancestry and origin. 101

Any attempt to trace an Indian tribe back to a basic point at which the beginnings of a race in the human families of remote antiquity are discoverable, inevitably results in mystery or confusion, or both. And while this statement is and must be predicated upon the past in research and the philosophies which have grown up with or out of it, the present seems to promise, in definite results, but little hope of rescuing from the realm of myth the farther ends of the threads of history. Yet we believe the future is not wholly devoid of hope in that direction. 121

Nor are we able to declare that the foregoing observations do not apply with equal force to the Mandans, as to other Indians of America. But we shall bring into this paper toward its end some narratives, affirmations and some conclusions on the part of

121 their authors in connection therewith which it seems should be regarded as tending to support in some degree a tangible theory of the origin of certain elements of character in the Mandans, while not accounting for them in the sense of the original elements of an Indian tribe or nation. Those evidences are claimed, with more or less positiveness, by those who have brought them forward to be such as to lead to the supposition, or the conclusion, that the Mandans are a residium of the Mound Builders; that they, with the latter, were an amalgamation of whites with native Americans; that the alleged white element in their racial composition is of Welsh origin; and that this latter element may be referred to the Madocian theory—that of the alleged immigration into the New World of Prince Madoc and his followers in the Twelfth century. Some remoter consequences are sought to be drawn by some of those theorists, in the direction of identifying as the offshoot of the Mound Builders the race of Montezuma in Mexico, and as derivable from some alleged settlement of the Madocians upon the Atlantic coast of America—the Incas of Peru. And the theory of the Moundbuilders as associated with the Aztecs is sought to be brought into relation to the Mandans upon the hypothesis that the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi river was the probable point of separation of various tribes of the Mound Builders who, driven from point to point down the Ohio by overpowering numbers of Indians from the neighborhood of the Great Lakes, scattered from each other, some progressing up the Missouri, while others went southward along the Mississippi and, roughly speaking, westward into what is now New Mexico and Arizona, thence southward. These theories, wherein they seek to establish a Welsh origin of the Mandans and some other Indian tribes, have been discarded by the vast majority of commentators, who base their conclusions upon reasoning in the light of the narratives and conclusions of others who were observers and narrators, while some who have assembled what seem to them tangible evidences cling tenaciously to that theory.

The fact that the whole field of historical foundation everywhere is, under the limelight of later investigation and inquiry, yielding up new evidences which in some degree rescue truth from mythology, or from oblivion itself, or according to other estimates are building anew those foundations in tangible form

out of material which was once well known for fact, but has been 121
lost in the mist of ages—is by the writer hereof regarded as warrant for bringing into this paper sundry narratives bearing upon the theory in question which in themselves may be of doubtful value, but which, when forming part of a symposium upon the theme of origin, may be legitimate material.

But we defer to a later stage of treatment of the general subject this phase of remote origin, only adding that, as regards the Mound Builders, it seems very probable that a rational connection will be found to be shown to exist between them and the Mandans; and that a few quotations from the earliest observers of the Mandans, by way of preliminary to an account of them when first known to civilized man, may not be out of place as indicating what we in the outset remarked as to their singularities.

Their Peculiar Characteristics. The Mandans conveyed to all 142
visitors and observers who came in contact with them in the 114
Eighteenth and the first half of the Nineteenth centuries the impression, in marked degree, that they were emphatically more civilized than other Indian tribes of the west, and that they were of such fair complexion and had hair and eyes of such color as to convey the distinct, profound impression—to some the belief—that they were not Indians in the usual sense of that word.

La Verendrye, who visited them in 1738 for several weeks, recorded of them that "their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed with white and black." "The women have not the Indian physiognomy." Le Raye, who as a prisoner of the Brule Sioux was taken up the Missouri river in 1803 and into the Mandan villages, observes of them that they are "of the lightest complexion," that their hair "inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so dark and coarse as most other Indians;" that "their eyes are full and lively" and that they are "courteous and sociable." General Clarke (of the Lewis and Clarke expedition), who wintered with them in 1804-5, told Catlin that he would find them "a strange people and half white." Alexander Henry, who in 1806 visited them, says: "What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about ten years of age whose hair was perfectly gray, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not such strong, coarse hair as other nations of North America; they have it much finer,

142 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair
114 was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

Habitat. The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white
131 men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral
114 certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Man-
174 dan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

first visit by La Verendrye to the Mandans in November and 131
December, 1738. We have not caused to be examined the Spanish 114
chronicles to ascertain whether it is either certain or probable 174
that subjects of that nation had come in contact with the Mandans prior to Verendrye's said visit; but if we are to credit the positive statement made to him by a Mandan Indian at the most northerly or prairie village of that tribe where he first made a stand among them—to the effect that the narrator and other Mandans had had a conflict with one or more white men to the south, who were on horseback and in armor, and that he had barely escaped with his life. Spaniards had penetrated into the near neighborhood of the Mandans on the upper Missouri before Verendrye visited them.

Verendrye—Where He Met Them. It is impossible to locate 131
with any certainty the spot where, or even the immediate vicinity 174
in which Verendrye met the delegation of Mandans who left their most northerly village and returned with his messengers (sent on to announce his coming) to a designated meeting place not far from that village and greeted and parleyed with him November 28th, 1738, and where the Mandan chief invited him to "his fort"—the nearest by and "smaller than the others," and informed him that there were "six forts." All that can be gathered clearly from Verendrye's record (being his official letter to the French governor general of New France, etc.) is that, having started from Michilimackinac on this expedition to the Mandans on the Missouri river, and having arrived at the Assiniboine river and built a fort there sixty leagues below the "forks" of that river—(which we believe to have referred to the confluence of the main stream with the Souris or Mouse river, some 150 miles west) southwest from what is now Winnipeg—he left this "fort" October 18th; three days thereafter the Assiniboine Indians joined him; that on October 21st. he reached the "first mountain," which he states was 26 leagues from his fort and south by southwest; that he next reached the "second mountain," traveling a west by northwest course 24 leagues (we are inclined to think this second mountain was Turtle mountain), and that from this mountain to the Mandans "is southwest;" that November 18th he arrived at an Indian village far (some sixty leagues) out of the direct route to the Mandans, to the west-southwest 120 leagues, to which point he was forced to go, being in the hands of Assini-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

131
174

boine guides; that November 20th he left that village to go 17 leagues, where the meeting place of the Mandans had been chosen, at which point he arrived November 28th; that on the evening of November 30th he continued on toward the first Mandan fort, at about seven leagues from which he lost some papers; that the Indian "orator" there said: "We must leave before four o'clock in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort;" that at noon next day at one and one-half leagues, near a small river (the Mouse?) they rested two hours, where a number of Mandans had come to meet them; that Verendrye was carried thence by the Indians to a point "four acres from the fort," where "the old men" were waiting; that after firing a salute to the fort he marched to and entered it December 3rd, 1738, at four p. m. He had thus spent fifty-two days in going from his "fort" on the Assiniboine to what must have been not far from the neighborhood of Washburn, N. D., 43 miles above Bismarck, or from Coal Harbor, some 25 miles northwest of Washburn, during which journey much time was lost on the detour above mentioned, "so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The distance from his fort on the Assiniboine to the first Mandan fort can probably be roughly estimated at about 400 miles by a substantially direct route; and on that basis Verendrye's estimate of sixteen days' travel would be 25 miles per day.

In Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1742 he states that the explorer reached the "country of the Mantanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." (Contributions to Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, p. 307.) From which it would appear that a thoroughfare overland from the Assiniboine to the Missouri existed anciently as the usual mode of passing over the divide between the basin of Lake Winnepeg and the Missouri valley.

In a note by Neill to the above observation he says:

131
101
174

"The Mandans, or White Beards, of the Dakotah family are noted for being gray-haired. Sometimes children six years of age have this appearance. They were nearly destroyed by smallpox in 1837, and in 1874 they lived near the Aricaras and Gros Ventres, in the vicinity of Fort Berthold, on the Missouri. Formerly all dwelt in mud cabins, surrounded by ditches. A few yet live in dirt lodges." This account was published in 1876. 131 101 174

In another note by Neill in connection with his account of Verendrye's expedition to the mountains, and explanatory of the text, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gros Ventres," etc. His note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps be the Assiniboines. That the Gros Ventres "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." He then quotes from a report made by Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made in 1850 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to this effect: "The chief of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota some years ago met a village of Gros Ventres toward the sources of the Missouri. They learned that the smoke of the Gros Ventres lodges once arose at Sandy Lake, and that they had a large village of earthen houses at mouth of the Savanna river, which empties into the St. Louis." This would indicate that the Gros Ventres once inhabited the country bordering on the west end of Lake Superior, and by comparing what is said in these Neill notes concerning their residence on the Red and Assiniboine, with the reference to their habitat near the St. Louis river, we may find warrant for observing that the traditions about the Mandans having lived northward and eastward of the Missouri river country, where they were first found by white men, may really have become confused with the Gros Ventres traditions—the latter having joined the Mandans prior to white exploration of those regions.

Then Neill in his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742 thus refers to Bougainville's version of that expedition and the route taken by quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were by Neill understood as being the Mahas, or Omahas. And Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill in his note says this: "Shell" may mean the Musselshell river

131 of modern maps. He then says regarding the Panis: "The
Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and
101 on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe
174 west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc.' Drake speaks of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte. They now number about eighteen hundred and dwell on a reservation on a branch of the Platte in Nebraska." (They had gone south from that reservation at or about the time of publication of Neill's account—1876).

From Bougainville's account Neill finds him stating: "Opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaernousques, or Flatheads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs, or Knisteneaux, and Utasiaoutchactas, or Assiniboel, three villages." (Id., pp. 312-13-14.)

The summary of evidences as to the course pursued by La Verendrye on his expedition to the mountains in 1742-3, as found in the said Historical Society Contributions, is as follows as regards the Mandans:

"Starting from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine river, they went up the Mouse river in a southerly direction, and then crossed over to the Missouri a little below where is now Fort Berthold. They then ascended the Missouri," etc. (Id., p. 316.)

From Bougainville's Memoirs on the State of New France, 1757, the following extract is taken and published by Brower in his "Missouri River:"

"Voyage de la Verendrye. The one who most forwarded this discovery is the Sieur de la Verenderie; from the Fort de la Reine he reached the Missouri; he met first of all upon this river the Mandannes or Blancs Barbus (Bearded Whites) to the number of seven villages fortified by terraced stockades with a ditch; next the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Pikes, i. e., fish) to the number of three villages; in the upper part of the river he found the Mahantas making also three villages; and along the Missouri, in descending it to the mouth of the river Wabiek, or Shell (Coquille) twenty-three villages of Panis." (P. 65.) "Opposite the Panis are the Gens de l'Arc (People of the Bow), Atchapeivinioques in Cristinaux and Utasibaoutchactas in Assibinboels, three villages." (Id. p. 65.)

131 **Where Lewis and Clarke Found Them.** Lewis and Clarke, in
174 their expedition of 1804, are the first visitors to the Mandan vil-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lages who give any definite information of the precise location of those Indians on the Missouri river. And while they do clearly state where a Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri was located, their reference to the Mandan village on the easterly side does not show to a certainty whether it was at a point above or below the one which they speak of as being on the opposite side, but they state that the latter is "at the distance of three miles across." They then proceed to substantially fix the location of the village on the westerly side by calling it "the lower Mandan village" and by locating the village called "Mahaha" as being "on the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village," and which "Mahaha" village is "at the mouth of the Knife river." That river, known as the Big Knife, flows into the Missouri on the westerly side about three miles above Stanton, and about 63 miles above Bismarck, North Dakota. 131 174

Lewis and Clarke declare that when they visited and wintered among the Mandans in 1804-5 the Mandan villages were two in number. This statement is so clear that it can not be misunderstood. They erected Fort Mandan about three miles below the first or lower Mandan village reached by their expedition in its up-river progress, but on the opposite or easterly side of the Missouri. (See the narrative from Clarke's journal, farther on.) Nowhere in their journal is it made plain how far above the "Fort" the Mandan village on that side was situated. But it cannot be far from correct to assume that, as the distance between the two villages (as stated by them) is "three miles across," and assuming that the river itself was about one mile in width, the village at the easterly side was about two miles above the other on the Missouri. This would indicate—still basing our conclusion upon the data of Lewis and Clarke—that the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri was about two miles below a point opposite to the mouth of the Big Knife. And the same data would place the fort at about seven and one-half miles below said outlet; and this is in harmony with the generally understood fact. Dr. Coues says that post was "seven or eight miles" below the mouth of the Big Knife. The more exact location of those Mandan villages may perhaps be shown by evidences to be brought into this paper later on.

But a difficulty has arisen in determining whether there were

131
174

or not more than one Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri, and also as to how far below the Big Knife they were situated, if there were two.

The writer of this article, in preparing his note (6) on Fort Clarke, the trading post in that vicinity, in editing the reprint of Maj. Wilson's article on "Old Fort Pierre and Her Neighbors" (S. D. Hist. Col., Vol. 1, p. 318) found, from various historical data then at hand, that Fort Clarke, which seemed to be shown by all the authorities to be situated substantially eight miles below the mouth of the Big Knife river on the westerly side of the Missouri, was but a very short distance—less than one-fifth of a mile—below a Mandan village on that side, while other data pointed to another Mandan village on the same side "in the wooded bend some three miles below" Fort Clarke, and which seemed to be known as "the lower Mandan village." That "bend" would thus be about eleven miles below the mouth of the Big Knife. But the Lewis and Clarke account shows, as we have seen, the lower Mandan village to have been, in 1804-5, but four miles below that point. Fort Clarke was established in 1831, and while it is possible that the one Mandan village of 1804 became divided into two at or some time after Fort Clarke was built, so as to account for the data found by the writer as stated, yet it would seem improbable that one of the two which such separation would result in would not be on the same spot where those explorers found a Mandan village on the westerly side. Yet they place the one village they saw at four miles, while the other data referred to shows the upper of two villages about seven and three-fourths miles and the lower one eleven miles below the mouth of Big Knife. And it is at about the latter distance below that stream where the Missouri bends from a southeasterly to an easterly direction, thus furnishing the locality for a "wooded bend" where, at some time between 1831 and the date of migration of the Mandans further up stream, about fourteen years later, one of their two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri was situated. If, therefore, there was in fact but one Mandan village on the westerly side in 1804 it seems probable that the estimate of Lewis and Clarke in placing it but four miles below the mouth of Big Knife is erroneous, as we believe the data of a later period concerning the location of Fort Clarke and its very near proximity to a Mandan village just above it is

131

more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. 174
Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' 131
edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper,
1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, 174
explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in 114
the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house 161
on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at
the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, 121
and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts 131
declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages
on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife 114
river five of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two 174
accounts as to how many of them were **Mandan** villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

114
131
174

must probably, therefore, regard Thompson's account (which included two Mandan villages below the Knife and on the westward side of the Missouri, and doubtless all those on both sides of the Knife) as contemplating the two villages on the south bank of the Knife as but one, since, if he regarded them (as did Lewis and Clarke) as two, his total would be six villages in the whole group, including the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri. In this connection the fact that Thompson's journal speaks of "the third village" (evidently counting from the north southward) as "Mahnon of the Mandans and a few Fall Indians," is significant as indicating a second Mandan village on the westerly side, and also as indicating that he had regarded the two villages of Lewis and Clarke on the south bank of the Knife as one. These considerations would, we believe, substantially harmonize Thompson's and Captain Lewis' journals on the basis of five villages in the whole group in question. Of these the three (of Lewis and Clarke) and the two of Thompson's most northerly villages are called "Fall" Indians by the latter, while Captain Lewis says (as shown above) that the lower of those three is the Mahaha, or Ahnahaways village—known to the French as Gens des Souliers, and who were, according to Dr. Coues, Matthews and others, closely related to the Hidatsas, Minnetarees or Gros Ventres, and offshoots of the Crows, and differ but little from the Mandans. While the two (of Lewis and Clarke) and (probably) the one of Thompson's upper village or villages in the general group are called by Lewis and Clarke Minnetarees, "surnamed Metaharta," and the one north of the Knife is called by them "the proper Minnetaree nation." (Coues' ed., vol. 1, pp. 197-8.) These Minnetarees are said by Captain Lewis to be "part of the great nation called Fall Indians." (Id., p. 199.) And Coues' note at that point declares that the term is "traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchewan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as being about the falls of the south branch of that river" (Id., p. 199); that they were called, without reason, by the French Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; while Matthews says the tribe thus referred to by Umfreville is that known as "the Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairie;" that there were "Minnetarees of the Prarie" and "of the Missouri"; that as designated by Lewis and Clarke they are "two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the Fall

Indians, and the latter being the Hidatsas, with whom they 114
(Lewis and Clarke) are now wintering," and that it is necessary, 131
when reading Lewis and Clarke, to bear this in mind. (Id., pp. 174
199-200.)

We have made this detailed explanation of those of said group of villages which were not properly Mandan, but whose occupants are said to have closely resembled them, in order to make clearer what was meant by all of the early visitors in referring to the general group as "The Mandan Villages."

As indicating the oldest definitely known habitat of the Mandans, on the first deserted Mandan village site found by Lewis and Clarke in proceeding up the Missouri, we find in their journal a reference to their having found at or near their camp, eight miles below the lower end of what is now known as Sibley Island —which latter is some fourteen miles below Bismarck, North Dakota—on the east bank of the Missouri, in Burleigh county, "the remains of an old village which is high and strong, and has been fortified; this our chief" (an Aricara) "tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri." (Vol. 1, p. 153, London ed.) That this location may be fixed very definitely, that journal may be quoted further as stating that that camp was "opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation;" that "near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain" those "remains" were found. (Id.)

The narratives in Lewis and Clarke, from day to day after this first indication of former occupancy of the Mandans was seen by them, will show (as seen in extracts therefrom inserted hereinafter) that many such deserted villages were found by them in the neighborhood of Mandan and Bismarck, North Dakota. The "chief" referred to by them as having pointed out this first deserted site as that of the Mandans being an Aricara who was guiding the expedition, was beyond doubt possessed of knowledge enabling him to speak to the fact in the premises. Captain Lewis' statement, based upon the observations of the expedition and the declarations of the Aricara guide, by way of summary as to the former abodes and the migration of the Mandans therefrom upriver, is to the effect that "within the recollection of living wit-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 nesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below
131 Fort Mandan), seven on the west and two on the east side of
174 the Missouri," which two moved up the river "opposite the Ricaras" after becoming united, the seven (reduced to five) emigrating also "to the Ricara nation" in a body, forming "two villages"—all being driven thence as the result of attacks by Sioux and the ravages of smallpox; that being still insecure "the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present location. The two who had emigrated together settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about 40 or 50 lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second the same number; and both may raise (i. e., can muster) about 350 men."

E. R. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D., who is connected with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, and who has examined many village ruins of both Mandans and Aricaras between Mandan and the Knife river, states in a letter to the writer hereof in 1908:

"There is one village on the road from Heart river to Fort Clarke, about half way, which I think to have been a Mandan village, while the next below, only about two miles distant, has been decidedly an Aricara village. Some of the Mandans may have stopped there on their move up to Fort Clarke region."

174 **They Came from Whence?** From what direction did the Mandans come to the locality on the Missouri river where were found their deserted villages in 1804? Two theories are, or have been extant upon this subject: One that they emigrated up the Missouri from the region of the mouth of the Ohio, or lower down, on the Mississippi; the other that they at one time lived to the northeast of those portions of the Missouri where those deserted villages and the Mandan villages near the Big Knife were located, and were driven to the Missouri by the Crees, Assiniboines and other tribes inhabiting the region of Lake Winnipeg and west and southwest therefrom.

We believe they came up the Missouri from a point at least as far south as southern South Dakota, and probably much farther; 174 that they progressed through what is now South Dakota and preceded the Aricaras here; that the supposition that they were in the Winnipeg country before they settled on the Missouri is not tenable; and that to the extent that their appearance on or in the neighborhood of the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan rivers is provable they were there seeking game and the extension of their then present domain on and in the vicinity of the upper Missouri, or battling with enemies at some distance from their own home base—a perfectly natural and probably necessary pursuit, as Indians have from time immemorial been wont to view the issues of tribal welfare and protection.

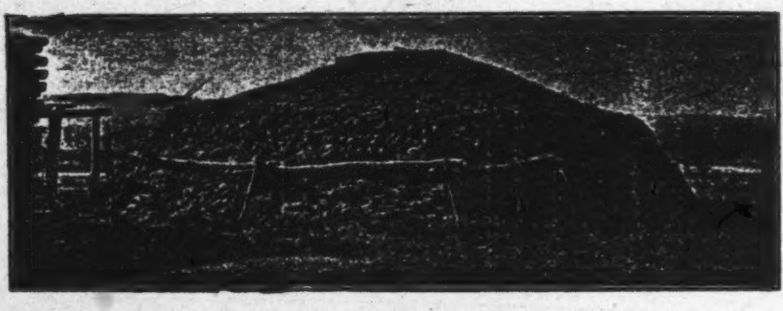
We shall not stop here to mass the evidences which, respectively, tend or are regarded as tending to support one or the other of these theories of the territorial origin or more ancient habitat of the Mandans, but will proceed to bring forward, in chronological order, the various accounts and narratives of the explorers and visitors who came in contact with them, and some few of the traditions and legends of those Indians themselves, as composing the body of the evidences at large in this paper, after first presenting in brief some authorities going to support the primary assumption that the Mandans were aborigines of South Dakota, and then citing the conclusions of some authorities as to who and what those Indians were among the American Indians; recurring later on to this point as to whence they came, in the light of all that is presented touching their remote habitat and involving at least some of the collateral evidences as to their origin.

Once Inhabited South Dakota. As supporting the assumption that the Mandans once inhabited some parts of what is now South Dakota and may be regarded as aborigines of this region of the Missouri valley, we will mention the conclusions of some explorers and writers, with some Indian traditions on that head.

Catlin believed it a fair deduction that "they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, 114 and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where 174 they now (1838) are." That "there are many remains on the river below this place" (i. e., the Mandan villages below the Knife river, now North Dakota), "(and in fact to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis) which show clearly the peculiar construc-

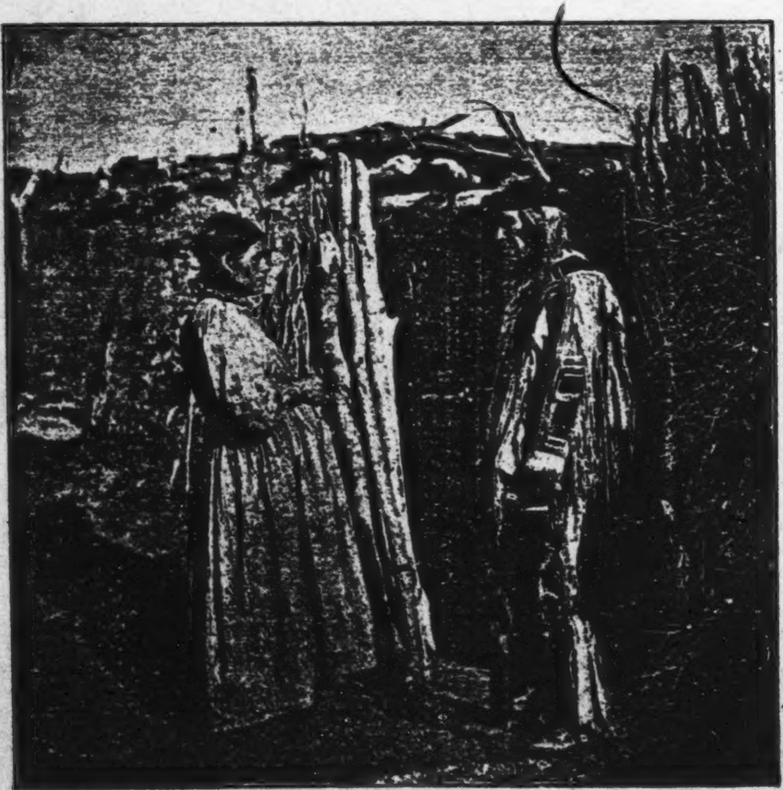
1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342



OLD EARTH LODGE.

291
342



A SUMMER COTTAGE.

[face p. 289]

114
174

tion of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position." That the Aricaras in ascending the Missouri occupied lodge villages which had been abandoned by the Mandans. Hayden, whose exhaustive labors in tracing the origin of some of the tribes of western Indians have justly given him a high place among the authorities, and who gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name these Indians applied to themselves, infers therefrom that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period," while another eminent authority, Morgan (Syst. consang. and Affin., 285), assigns as the native name of the tribe Metootahak, or "South Villagers." The Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 796, concludes that "all that can be gathered from them is the tradition that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake, and that "this tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke." This reference to a lake is here inserted, since the tradition in connection with it may relate to some one of the inland waters of the northwest, or to the ocean on the Atlantic coast, or to the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi, as will be shown farther on. E. E. Blackman, state archaeologist of Nebraska, in his report in 1902 refers to the Mandans as part of the Siouan stock, stating: "The Mandans were one of the first bands to break off from the parent stock, and the only excuse we have for counting them in our history is the probability that they crossed our borders in their way up the Missouri river, some time prior to the coming of the Skidi band in 1400." He adds: "The above is legendary and not a proven fact." Practically all of the authorities ascribe to them a Siouan origin, which in itself seems to warrant the probability that they once inhabited the country west of Minnesota and in the Missouri valley. The oldest ruins of Mandan lodge-villages on the upper Missouri, found by Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others, were not far from sixty miles north of the South Dakota line. (See S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 389, where in Part I. of this paper it is said to be about seventy miles.) Joseph H. Taylor, of Washburn, N. D., who with Daniel Williams (now of Painted Woods, N. D.) discovered in 1872 on Apple creek, seven or eight miles southeast from Bismarck, N. D., two old Indian village sites, states that inquiry among the Indians at that time led to information that those villages were Mandan, and

that the occupants had been practically exterminated by the 114
Sioux "near 140 years ago," that some young squaws and children 174
were saved by the captors and that among their descendants
was Medicine Bear, the well known Yanktonais chief of thirty years ago. As the Mandans are known to have been located at and across from Bismarck (at Mandan) some twenty years before Lewis and Clarke visited them, this Sioux tradition imparted to Taylor seems to further tend to show that the Mandans were driven up the Missouri from below Mandan by the Sioux. Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, is understood to have entertained the belief that the Mandans were traced by the remains of their habitations, and that they were thought to have lived along the central Missouri. Dr. Eastman, himself a Sioux Indian who was reared among them and who in his boyhood days wandered with members of his tribe over large areas of country, affirms that the Yanktonais Sioux traditions are to the effect that the Mandans inhabited the lower James river and other Missouri river country on the east side, which tradition
is regarded as having existed some two hundred years. Little [124]
Owl, a Mandan Indian on the Fort Berthold reservation, and living in 1905 on the southeast side of the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, was interviewed, through an interpreter, by the writer of this article; and in giving an account of the traditional ancient habitat of his tribe stated that Bear-on-the-Water, who he said is "the oldest man," says they came from where the Mississippi empties into the sea; spoke of a "boat without oars" (sailboat?) in which they could go across the sea, "or anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere;" that the Mandans came all the way up the river to Heart river; that the villages down the river to the Mississippi that had ditches around them were Mandan villages; that one of the Mandan villages (bands) went north from the Heart river to Winnipeg, etc. Bear's Ghost, another Indian in the same neighborhood, interviewed the same day, and who claimed to be a full-blood Mandan, but who disclaimed having such information as certain older men whom he named possessed in the premises, entered into the traditional account of the origin of the Mandans, which seems to have involved the creation of things in general; and he declared it was "in the mouth of the sea, where this river (Missouri) empties into the sea" that the two "men" who made the earth, etc., met,

114
174

and that the Mandan language was the first one made, etc. (See these narratives at large further on this paper.)

Mr. E. R. Steinbroeck, of Mandan, N. D., who has spent much time in examining both Aricara and Mandan village sites below and above Mandan, and who has compared the pottery and other utensils used by both, declares: "It seems to me beyond a doubt that the Mandans and the Arickara came in contact long before they crossed the boundaries between North and South Dakota," and doubts not that they came from "somewhere south before they settled at and near Heart River."

Further reference to the Mandans is found in the "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. 1, p. 797, where, after quoting Maximilian as declaring that "They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the seacoast," the account proceeds:

"Their linguistic relation to the Winnebago and the fact that their movements in their historic era have been westward up the Missouri correspond with their tradition of a more easterly origin, and would seemingly locate them in the vicinity of the upper lakes. It is possible that the tradition which has long prevailed in the region of northwestern Wisconsin regarding the so called 'ground-house Indians' who once lived in that section and dwelt in circular earth lodges, partly underground, applies to the people of this tribe, although other tribes of this general region formerly lived in houses of this character. Assuming that the Mandan formerly resided in the vicinity of the upper Mississippi, it is probable that they moved down this stream for some distance before passing to the Missouri. The fact that when first encountered by the whites they relied to some extent on agriculture as a means of subsistence, would seem to justify the conclusion that they were at some time in the past in a section where agriculture was practiced. It is possible, as Morgan contends, that they learned agriculture from the Hidatsa, but the reverse has more often been maintained. Catlin's theory that they formerly lived in Ohio and built mounds, and moved thence to the northwest is without any basis. The traditions regarding their migrations, as given by Maximilian, commence with their arrival at the Missouri. The point where this stream was first reached was at the mouth of White river, South Dakota. From this point they moved up the Missouri to Moreau river, where they came in contact with the Cheyenne and where also the formation of 'bands or unions' began. Thence they continued up the Missouri to Heart river, North Dakota, where they were residing at the time of the first known visit of the whites, but it is probable that trappers and traders visited them earlier." .

In the foregoing account in the "Handbook"—certainly a very authoritative and recent exposition of the Mandans as to former habitat—it is seen that no reference is made to the supposed expulsion of them from the Winnipeg country by the Crees or Assiniboines, or to their ever having had a home there, while emphasis seems to be laid upon the theory that they once inhabited the upper Mississippi, moved down that stream "for some distance before passing to the Missouri," and that (on Maximilian's authority regarding their traditions) they first came to the Missouri "at the mouth of White river" in South Dakota, proceeding thence up the latter stream, and that they first came in contact with the Cheyennes at the Moreau river—which is some 75 miles south of the northern boundary of South Dakota. Other accounts which we refer to below show that, according to the Cheyenne traditions the latter Indians, when they crossed the Missouri about 225 years ago, crossed it near the mouth of the Cheyenne river, and that they there met the Mandans, still farther south; and that the Gros Ventres (or Minnetarees or Hidatsas) while coming from the north first encountered the Mandans on the upper Missouri and crossed that stream to join them. Whether the eminent editor of the "Handbook" (Hodge) and his able assistants intended, by refraining from referring to the Winnepeg theory in the foregoing account of the Mandans because of lack of confidence in it, or whether such course was taken because that theory is brought out in the "Handbook" in one or two instances in connection with accounts of other northwestern tribes can only be conjectured.

Lieut. Clarke, in "Indian Sign Language," speaking of the Gros Ventres, relates that Poor Wolf, then 61 years of age, and born near the mouth of Knife river, whom he found to be "a venerable, professor-like looking old fellow," dressed in a nondescript patchwork of mis-matches, including "a pair of old-fashioned iron spectacles," informed him that the Gros Ventres "migrated toward the Missouri river from the north, and here" (at or near Fort Berthold on the Missouri) "first met the Mandans. The

114
174

Arickarees were then below Fort Pierre." We italicize. We here refer to Poor Wolf in no sense of disparagement in connection with his apparel, but rather in connection with the well known fact that he has long been regarded, and doubtless with good reason, as a prominent member and chief among his tribesmen and the "Confederated Village" at large, and as one whose knowledge of the tribal traditions is of a high order. We desire to point out the above quotation from that venerable and authoritative chief, by wayof comment upon Lieut. Clarke's statement on the next page of his account of the Gros Ventres (p. 195), wherein he says: "Their **known** migrations are limited to the Missouri River Valley, and from Knife river up to their present village (Fort Berthold), "and I am quite convinced that the Mandans **moved from the north and joined them,** crossing the river **for that purpose.**" We again italicize. Our point is that not only Poor Wolf, but many other authorities to be found in connection with the history of the Gros Ventres in their relation to migration and contact with the Mandans seems to make it very plain and practically indisputable that the Gros Ventres came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region, hailed the Mandans across the Missouri, and after being visited by the latter, who crossed in "bull-boats" to parley with them, were allowed to cross **and join them.** And we can not but think that Lieut. Clarke, when making the statement last above quoted, had become somewhat confused amid the maze of traditions of the three Confederated Tribes which had grown up, and that he here imputes to the Mandans what really was done by the Gros Ventres.

The fact, too, that Poor Wolf's tradition to the effect that the Aricaras were below the Fort Pierre country when the Gros Ventres found the Mandans on the upper Missouri was recorded by Lieut. Clarke, indicates his inclination to listen to the suggestion that, as between the Mandans and the Aricaras the former were dominant over a long stretch of the river to the southward and were familiar with the fact that the Aricaras had not yet reached the Cheyenne river northward when the Mandans were joined by the Gros Ventres.

Cheyennes and Mandans. Lieut. Clarke, treating of the Cheyennes in "Indian Sign Language" (pp. 99-100), thus refers to the Mandans as incidental to the migration westward of the Cheyennes:

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114
174

"Occupying then the country at the headwaters of the Mississippi several hundred years ago, they were slowly forced westward by the Sioux, perhaps southward by the Mandans, the latter being driven from the north by the same power which pressed upon the Sioux, viz., the great Algonquin family, assisted in later years by French arms. It is more than probable that this migration was due in a measure to and determined by their search for game, as traditional evidence in regard to their relations with the Sioux and Mandans is not clear and conclusive." He then parenthetically refers to information given him by Lieut. Bailey, Fifth Infantry, "obtained from what is considered a reliable source," going to show (among other things) "that the Cheyennes met the Mandans two hundred and two years ago, as they—the Cheyennes—crossed the Missouri river. For several years they were at war with the Mandans, after this made peace and have maintained peaceable relations ever since. Before the whites commenced making war against these tribes they frequently camped together, and many Cheyennes and Mandans intermarried."

As this statement was made about 1881, the time thus fixed as that of the first contact between the Cheyennes and Mandans would be about 1680, and the same information shows that the Cheyennes, going westward, met the Mandans on the Missouri. This at least indicates clearly that the Mandans were domiciled on and probably west of the Missouri before the Cheyennes were driven there by pressure of other Indians from the east or north, and this situation seems out of harmony with the idea that the Mandans were behind the Cheyennes to northward and were drving them southward or westward, as supposed by Lieut. Clarke, at another point above quoted.

Again: As bearing out the supposition that the Mandans were established on the west side of the Missouri when the Gros Ventres came into that part of the country, we find in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, page 547, this reference to the Gros Ventres (as Hidatsas) and to the Mandans: "By the Mandan they are known as Minitari, signifying 'they crossed the river,' traditionally said to refer to their having crossed Missouri river from the east." Indeed, it is taken for proven that the Mandans were living on the west side of the Missouri at that time, as in the same account (p. 548) we find this reference to the former traditional habitat of the Gros Ventres, their subsequent alliance

114
174

with the Mandans west of the river and the fact that they "learned agriculture" from the latter:

"According to their own tradition the Hidatsas came from the neighborhood of a lake northeast of their later home and identified by some of their traditionists with Mini-wakan, or Devil's Lake, North Dakota. They had here the circular earth-covered log house, in use also by the Mandan, Arikara and other tribes living close along the upper Missouri, in addition to the skin tipi occupied when on the hunt. Removing from there, perhaps in consequence of attacks by the Sioux, they moved southwest and allied themselves with the Mandans, who then lived on the west side of the Missouri, about the mouth of Heart river. The three tribes, Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara, were all living in this vicinity about 1765. From the Mandan the Hidatsa learned agriculture. * * * In home life, religious beliefs and customs, house building, agriculture, the use of the skin boat, and general arts, they closely resembled the Mandan with whom they were associated."

Further reference is made in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, p. 251, under the heading "Cheyenne," to the locality on the Missouri where that tribe crossed that stream, viz: "The Cheyenne moved west toward the Missouri river, where their further progress was opposed by the Sutaio—the Staitan of Lewis and Clarke—a people speaking a closely cognate dialect, who had preceded them to the west and were then apparently living between the river and the Black Hills. After a period of hostility the two tribes made an alliance, some time after which the Cheyennes crossed the Missouri below the entrance of the Cannonball and later took refuge in the Black Hills about the heads of Cheyenne river of South Dakota." We have then various references to the point or locality of crossing the Missouri by the Cheyennes and where they came in contact with the Mandans with that event, the general and usual place of their reputed crossing being at or about the mouth of the Cheyenne river; the "Handbook" reciting the Moreau river as the point to which the Mandans had progressed up-river when they "came in contact" with the Cheyennes, and the above reference to the locality "below the entrance of the Canonball." All of these localities save the one last indicated are in South Dakota, while as to the locality "below" the Cannonball it may or may not have been within this state, since

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 the mouth of that river is nearly fifty miles north of the line between the Dakotas.

174 Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, in his note on the Cheyenne Indians (S. Dak. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146) says concerning the locality in which that tribe crossed the Missouri: "For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at or about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne river, South Dakota." He also says: "Alexander Henry says the Salteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri river at about 1690."

361 **Their Upper Missouri Villages.** We will briefly trace the localities in which the Mandans have lived on the Missouri river since their most ancient and definite village remains, actually discovered by the whites, were occupied, and so far as information has come to hand.

We regard it as almost certain that when La Verendrye visited the Mandans in 1738 and 1742 they were stationed in the neighborhood of and across from what is now Mandan, N. D., and were, according to that explorer, in "five forts on the two banks of the river"—how many were on each side not appearing. Lewis and Clarke's interpreters informed them that forty years prior to 1804 they were settled in nine villages—seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri, about eighty miles below the Fort Mandan built by that expedition. The closest calculation we can make of the actual distances traveled by Lewis and Clarke after they found the first or most southerly Mandan ruin—as shown by the data in their journal—until they had reached the most northerly of what they call the **nine** deserted villages, shows that the stretch of river covered by those sites was about twenty-eight miles (instead of twenty miles, as their journal states), and taking as true Dr. Coues' statement that the first Mandan ruin found by them was eight miles below the lower end of what he says is Sibley Island, or about twenty-two miles below Bismarck, we find that the northermost deserted Mandan village in that group must have been located about six miles north of Mandan, N. D. But, as will be seen from Lewis and Clarke's journal inserted hereinafter, they actually point out only **eight** village sites in that group, and four of those are stated to be on the northeasterly and four on the southwesterly side of the Missouri. And by extending the calculation of distances on up the river, upon the further data of that expedition, we find that it is but about sixty-eight and one-half miles (instead of eighty, as they state it to be) from where they built Fort Mandan (say, seven miles below the mouth of Knife river) to said first or most southerly Mandan ruin. In other words, starting from eight miles below Sibley Island as the most southerly site (on the east side of the Missouri), the succeeding seven deserted villages are (2) fourteen miles on east side; (3) fourteen and one-half miles on west side; (4) sixteen and one-half miles on east side; (5) nineteen and one-half miles on west side; (6) twenty-three miles on west side; (7) twenty-six miles on east side, and (8) twenty-eight miles on west side—counting northward. The Lewis and Clarke journal says, by way of summary, that "these villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles." (London ed., Vol. I, p. 156.)

About twenty-four or twenty-five miles farther up the Missouri from the most northerly of said group of eight or nine village sites Lewis and Clarke found another on the east side which they call "the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras." (P. 157.) This would be about thirty miles above Bismarck, and it was eight miles above "an old village on the north" (northeast side of the Missouri) "which was the former residence of the Ahnahaways, who now live between the Mandans and Minnetarees." Another old Mandan village "which has been deserted for many years" was found about four miles farther up on the west side. The Lewis and Clarke journal adds: "A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground, are two old villages of Ricaras, one on top of the hill, the other in the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated at three or four miles from the Ricara villages three old villages of Mandans near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above." (P. 158.) This group of four Mandan and two Aricara villages would thus be shown to extend from about thirty-four to thirty-nine miles above Bismarck; and it seems probable that this locality is referred to by the Aricara chief who was with Lewis and Clarke when they passed the second deserted Mandan village, and who told them that the Mandans "once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river" (doubtless the eight or nine village group already referred to) "till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher, whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position." (London ed., Vol. I, p. 154.) Now speaking roundly, forty miles would span the gap between the oldest group of Mandan village sites and this locality, which is upwards of thirty miles above Bismarck. But it will be seen that Lewis and Clark speak of the Aricaras having come to that locality of the Mandans "for protection;" while at another point in their journal (p. 177) they mention two villages of the Mandans (who had doubtless been living in some of the so-called "nine villages")*** as "finding themselves wasted away before the smallpox and the Sioux,*** and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras," of the remaining Mandans, impelled by similar causes, having "emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation." This would indicate that they, within forty years prior to 1804, went up-river into the neighborhood of the Aricaras for protection. Nowhere in any of the early chronicles is it made clear where the Aricaras were located, above the Mandans, when the latter "moved up the river opposite to" them, or when, later on, the Mandans on the west side "emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them." Was it here, where these "two old villages of Ricaras" were located? If so, there should be found a Mandan village site somewhere in the neighborhood on the east side of the Missouri, but none is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke. And, as seen, Lewis and Clarke say the Aricaras came to the Mandans for protection in that locality. Here is an apparent difficulty which, involving time, locality and mutual protection, is not satisfactorily cleared up by any comparison of the various accounts of the early explorers which the writer has been able to make.

In Part I of this paper will be found a treatment of the subject of the various habitations of the Aricaras, and, in connection therewith, of the Mandans and their relations to the former. as shown by the journals of Lewis and Clarke and others; and reference is here made to that part of this paper to avoid repetition 000

000 and as throwing further light upon the Mandans in this relation. (See Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp 388-402, et seq.)

Without attempting to exhibit a continuous account of the Mandans, as to locus, from the time when the first visitors were among them early in the last century down to the present day—since such treatment of them is not within the scope of this paper as originally conceived by the writer—we will outline their principal movements as tribes after they went northward from their home at the "Mandan Villages" below Knife river.

361 **Their Recent Contact with Other Tribes.** In 1845 the Hidatsa or Minnetaree (otherwise known as Gros Ventre or Big Bellies) Indians moved up the river from the Knife river, some forty miles, to the immediate vicinity of the site of Fort Berthold, which stockaded trading post was built there that year by the American Fur Company and the Indians, on the north side of the Missouri in what is now McLean county, North Dakota. The Mandans followed them soon after, removing thence from the "Mandan Villages." (See, for an account of Fort Berthold, Fort Atkinson and Fort Stevenson, and the Indians at that point, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 572-578; also note of Dr. D. W. Robinson in Vol. I, p. 124, and note by the writer of this article, id., pp. 359-60.) The Aricaras joined the other Indians above referred to at Fort Berthold in 1862.

The "Confederated Village." There what was long known as the Confederated Village of the Mandans, Minnetarees and Aricaras was established, and this stockaded village stronghold was occupied by those tribes until about 1888, when they broke up their urban establishment and scattered out into the country westward and northward, comprising the Fort Berthold reservation at large, the Mandans having practically all crossed to the southwesterly side of the Missouri and settled in the area embraced within from a few miles below to many miles above the mouth of the Little Missouri, all of the Indians in question having dissolved their tribal relations and taken lands in individual allotments and become citizens under the severalty laws of the United States, where they now reside, the Mandans being a mere remnant of their former prowess as tribes.

Some few salient incidents in the experience of the Mandans in the last century, incidental to general history, will be touched upon later on in this paper.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Of Siouan Origin. As will be seen from a consideration of the accounts and conclusions set forth hereinafter, the Mandans are regarded by the authorities upon this subject as belonging to the great Siouan family, of which the Dakotas are the head and substantial body. It is believed that a close analysis of the foundations for this conclusion will reveal two main sources thereof, i. e., their locality in the territory generally accredited to the Dakotas, and the analogies supposed to exist between their language and that of the Dakotas. 144

Upon this latter phase it has seemed to the writer that the assumption that those analogies exist to an extent which raises a fair presumption of identity between the Mandans and the Dakota tribes, is not borne out by the evidences at hand. If any one familiar with the languages involved has gone into a study to demonstrate that from a comparison of words or roots entering into the language of the Mandans and of the Dakotas or Sioux, respectively, there are found to be sufficient points of resemblance to bear out the claim of identity, such effort has not come to the attention of the writer. Maximilian assembled in a table sets of words of the Mandans, Aricaras and Sioux, of supposed similar meanings, of which he gained knowledge while among those various tribes, but it is far from clear that a comparison of those words indicates common lingual origin between the Mandans and Dakotas. 197 144

We are unable to quote upon this question any authorities among the people who have been in contact with both the Mandans and the Sioux so as to have become masters of both languages. There are several persons, however, who, having more or less special knowledge of one or the other of them, and who, at the same time have been to some extent in contact with that one of the tribes in question whose language they have not mastered, have expressed their views upon this question of common origin or otherwise. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, and who met and conversed with Simon J. Kirk, an educated Sioux Indian connected with the Indian school service on the Standing Rock reservation, and who for nearly a year was in contact with the Mandans, thus speaks of his (Kirk's) views upon this question:

"Simon Kirk, Little Eagle, South Dakota, is a full blooded Sisseton, reared with his people and perfectly conversant with

197
144
the Santee and other dialects of the Sioux language. He is educated, a graduate of the Santee Normal Institute of Santee, Nebraska, and has long been in the federal classified service as a teacher among the Indians, and was for a year a teacher among the Mandans. In an interview at Little Eagle on July 8th, 1908, he said:

'I made a careful study of the Mandan language and learned to speak it fluently, and I failed to find anything in it to justify the belief that it originated from the Siouan tongue. There is nothing in the language, or in the history or traditions of the Mandans, to justify the theory exploited by the ethnologists that the Mandans are of Siouan stock. They are utterly foreign to the Sioux in language, blood, customs and traditions.' "

Upon this subject Mr. Kirk replied to a letter of inquiry to the writer as follows:

"I will say that as far as I know personally I don't believe the Mandans are Siouan. Their language is entirely different from the Sioux language. I think it is very easy to learn and talk the Gros Ventre and Ree language, but I never heard or knew a Sioux Indian could talk the Mandan language."

On the other hand, Rev. R. D. Hall, now stationed at the Rosebud Indian Mission in South Dakota, where he has been for about one year, and who is a son of Rev. C. L. Hall, of Elbowoods, N. D., the headquarters of the Fort Berthold Indian Agency and of the Mandan Indians, has kindly and very intelligently responded upon a different trend of thought to a similar inquiry put to him by the writer in August, 1908, upon this subject. This gentleman has, we believe, been among the Mandans during practically his whole life until he came to the Sioux country in this state, since his father has been in constant contact with the Mandans as a missionary for something over thirty years. He states his present views, which as will be seen are but tentative and subject to more mature consideration and study of the Sioux language, as follows:

"The subjects on which you touch in your letter are of much interest to me, as one of the first things I noticed as I began studying the Sioux of this reserve—which is about like all the Sioux language, was the similarity of words in so many cases. I am planning at a later date to tabulate these, but as yet have not had time. I have three theories, or lines, along which this similarity may have come. I hope to work this out later on when I can

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

197
144

speak the Sioux well enough to get into the history of both people intelligently, according to their traditions.

"My first thought is that the Mandans and Sioux were once a common tribe, or branches of a tribe, but some rupture separated them into two bands whose dialects changed as decades passed. These changes can be seen in the different Sioux tribes now—they even have different words now for some things.

"My second thought is that the Mandan and Sioux were tribes that for a period were on intimate terms, but not related by blood, and that the stronger language 'infected' the Mandan.

"My third thought is that the Mandans were once a Sioux tribe like the Tetons, Santees, Yanktons, etc., but through isolation for years—maybe centuries—became more widely differentiated.

"The similarity of the languages is **striking to me**, first as to similarity of words, the pronouncing of syllables, facial expression accompanying the words, etc.

"The order of my theories is my **present** preference."

The italics in the above quotations are those of Rev. Hall himself.

It will be seen that years of constant contact with and study of the Mandans, and a comparatively brief period of residence among and study of the Sioux, have left this gentleman with a decided inclination to believe the two tribes to have been at some time in the past members of the same racial family or group of tribes, and that but one of his three immature theories supposes them to have been originally strangers in blood; but that he is not yet satisfied to settle down upon any definite conclusion upon the subject.

We will leave this particular phase of the general subject, after quoting Dr. W. H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, wherein he remarks, in connection with the subject of the Welsh language as possibly involved in the alleged existence of Welsh-speaking Indians and as compared to the language of the American Indians: "It is difficult to find any two languages, howsoever distinct in their origin, that do not contain remarkable correspondences. This must be allowed for in considering the presence of Welsh and other words in the Indian tongue." That eminent authority does not credit the idea of Indians of Welsh extraction. But his observation above quoted

197 concerning correspondence between languages, however distinct
in origin, if applied to the Mandan and Sioux languages, would
144 seem to tend strongly to suggest caution as to their identity, judging upon the facts set forth in the foregoing quotations from Rev. R. D. Hall.

181 **Peaceably Inclined.** The Mandans are unquestionably and justly regarded by substantially all the whites who have been among them from the earliest period of their discovery to have been peaceably inclined, in a sense which distinguished them from most of the warlike tribes who surrounded them on the upper Missouri. Yet they possessed high qualities of valor and actual prowess at arms when invasion of their rights led them to war, in some of which contests they without hesitation took the offensive and proved their ability to cope with their enemies under circumstances placing them at a disadvantage. They also maintained exceptionally friendly relations with the whites.

000 **Highly Civilized.** Their habitations in strongly entrenched and palisaded "forts," as they were called by the whites; the indubitable proofs of their having been agriculturalists in an eminent degree; their relatively polished and kindly mannerisms and unstinted hospitality, and their skill as artisans in fashioning pottery and other utensils adequate to their needs as families and communities—all seem to argue conclusively an exceptionally high state of civilization and such as marks them as being in a substantial degree apart from all other Indian tribes of the northwest. There are phases of their religious ceremonies which, coupled with some of their legends, lend strong support to the theory of the high character of their civilization and, taken in connection with all their other attributes, including physiognomy, are undeniably persuasive towards the conclusion that they have white blood in their veins and which must have existed for centuries.

342 The writer will not descend to a detailed description of the individual lodge, or hut, of the Mandans. It would be useless as mere repetition in substance of the various pen pictures given of them by a number of the early observers whose accounts are set forth hereinafter, and to which the reader or the student is referred. Suffice it to remark here that a substantial error has gone into prominent Indian literature upon the subject of the characteristics of such lodges, in Catlin's account and through

his drawings of the lodges of the Aricaras at their village near 342
the mouth of Grand river, and which he merely passed by on the river when he visited the Mandans in 1833, in which connection he states that the lodges of both of those tribes were substantially identical in form and general construction, which is true. His point of observation having been the deck of the steamer, which in its progress up or down the river was, of course, at some distance from the Aricara village which he sketched, he failed to observe that the outer surface of the lodge, below the line where the lower part of the roof joined the sides, was not a curved surface, nor in strictly circular form, but that it was formed of many planes, each of which stood at an angle with the two others joining it, and that instead of the floor surface of the lodge being a circle it was in the form of an ellipse. He also considerably overestimated the height of the lodge in his drawings. These defects in his observations have been remarked upon by many subsequent writers and by some whose personal observations of both Mandan and Aricara lodges enable them to speak with authority. This point will be brought out in some quotations from later observers found in this paper. He also wholly failed to observe another vital feature of the Mandan lodges, and which it is somewhat strange that he overlooked, viz., the covered entrance to the lodge, some ten feet long by about four feet wide and some seven feet high.

Nor will we dwell longer upon any phase of the Mandans by way 000
of preliminary, but will proceed now to bring into the account a few quotations embodying the conclusions of some of the authoritative publications upon the Mandans, followed by the narratives of the various visitors and observers already referred to, in chronological order, with occasional comments by the way.

From the "Handbook of American Indians," published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907, we glean the following:

Mandan. A Siouan Tribe of the Northwest. The name, ac- 101
cording to Maximilian, originally given by the Sioux, is believed by Matthews to be a corruption of the Dakota Mawatani. Previous to 1830 they called themselves simply Numakiki, "people" (Matthews). Maximilian says: "If they wish to particularize their descent they add the name of the village whence they came originally."

Hayden gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name

101 they apply to themselves, and draws from this the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." According to Morgan (Syst. Consang. and Affin., 285), the native name of the tribe is Metootahak, "South Villagers." Their relations so far as known historically and traditionally have been most intimate with the Hidatsa; yet, judged by the linguistic test, their position must be nearer the Winnebago. Matthews appears to consider the Hidatsa and Mandan descendants from the same immediate stem. Their traditions regarding their early history are scant and almost entirely mythological. All that can be gathered from them is the indication that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake. This tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke.

These references to the east and south in the Mandan traditions are encountered by those who have been among them, and they are to be found in narratives based upon the authorities or upon the personal experiences of visitors, who are quoted by some who have heard the accounts from them; and it will be seen in what follows from "Indian Sign Language," by W. P. Clark (Phila., L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1885) that according to one of his authorities the reference to "people of the east" is interpreted to mean "the position they first occupied in the village." This is in keeping with a similar reference to one of the Dakota tribes—the Ihanktonwans, or Yanktons, meaning "village at the end," and of the Ihanktonwannas, or Yanktonais, meaning the "end village." All of which tends to indicate that not the American continent, but mere location in a group of Indian villages, may account for some legend-phrases supposed by many to prove a habitat in some remote part of North America. It will be seen also that Clark brings in some evidences of habitation of the Mandans to northward of the upper Missouri. We quote his summary on the Mandans, to-wit:

304 **Tribal Sign—Tattooing.** Mandan. Conception: Tattooing chin and lower sides of the face. These Indians are usually indicated by the same sign as that made for the Arickarees; but the proper tribal sign is to partially compress the right hand, bring tip of thumb near tips of fingers and tap the chin and lower part of the face several times with tips of the thumb and fingers. "I was told by Mr. Girard that tattooing was practiced when he

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

304

first came among these people in 1849. The women had a line on the chin and a small spot on the forehead tattooed by the medicine man, whom they paid roundly for the work. The chiefs only, of the men, were tattooed, and on one side, or one-half of the breast, or one arm and breast. This was part of the ceremony when they were elected or made chiefs. They call themselves by a word which signifies 'people of the east,' but claim that this refers only to the position they first occupied in the village."

173

Migrations—From North? "Tradition among these Indians gives no definite account of their migrations other than the movements of their villages on the Missouri river; not, of course, considering the myth of their subterranean origin at Devil's Lake, Dakota. The Cheyennes, who are clearer in their traditions than most tribes, claim that the Mandans came from the north. Mr. Donald Gunn, in his 'History of Manitoba,' says: 'The Crees who visited the trading posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the Assiniboines, who traded in 1678 with Duluth at the west end of Lake Superior, were about the same time put in possession of firearms, and within a few years thereafter they seemed as if by mutual consent to have made a simultaneous movement, the former pressing on to the southwest, the latter pursuing their course to the northwest, until they met in the region west of Lake Winnipeg, and on the plains of Red and Assiniboine rivers. Indian tradition informs us that during the first half of the last century the Mandans occupied the country to the southwest of Lake Winnipeg, and that they had been forced by the united efforts of their invaders to leave their hunting grounds and retire to the upper Missouri. How long it took these tribes to drive out those whom they found in possession of the country, and what wars they carried on to accomplish that object, are lost in the mist of years. However, we have had the evidence of a living witness to the fact that the Crees and the Assiniboines lived on the plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg for some years previous to the year 1780, and that they made a preconcerted attack that year on the trading posts on the Assiniboine."

"I am inclined to think that this statement is in the main correct, but believe that the Mandans were driven out of this part of the country (adjacent to Lake Winnipeg) at an earlier date, for we find them located on the Missouri in 1772, with evidences of their having been there for many years." (P. 239.)

173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been hunting or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

361 166 [164] 721 **Smallpox.** Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

the fierce attacks of their enemies; and deeming the position unfavorable they removed higher up the river and took possession of a precipitous and tenable point of land formed by an involution of the Missouri, where they formed one compact village in 1776. The eastern Mandans had settled in two villages, but finding the attacks of the Sioux hard to be resisted united also in one village. The two divisions of Mandan villages were still separated by the Missouri river, but seated directly opposite each other about three miles apart, including lowlands.

361
166
721

The position is estimated to be sixteen hundred miles from the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. There they were visited by Lewis and Clarke on the 27th October, 1804. This was a memorable and an auspicious event in their history, as these intrepid American explorers determined to pass their first winter in this vicinity. They built Fort Mandan, a few miles distant, on a heavily wooded piece of bottom land, which yielded trees of sufficient size for erecting quarters for themselves and the men. They immediately opened an intercourse with the Mandans and established a friendship with them, which was strengthened by the incidents of a winter's residence." (pp. 239-240).

361
166

The following is an extract from Mr. Mitchell's letter above referred to: "The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. Macintosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with the French Trading Company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossed over the country to the Missouri river and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day. He gives a long and somewhat romantic description of the manner in which he was received, and dwells at some length upon the greatness of the Mandan population, their superior intelligence and prowess in war. He says at that time the Mandans occupied nine large towns lying contiguous and could at short notice muster fifteen thousand mounted warriors." Clarke continues:

"I am inclined to think that the statistics of the author whom I have quoted are somewhat exaggerated, and at the time he visited the Missouri the Mandans were not so numerous as he represents. There are, however, the ruins of five villages in the neighborhood of the present village, which were evidently at one time occupied by the Mandans; and judging from the space which

361 166 these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

164 "Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

168 "They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

144 Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

Arapahoes having fully as many children who have gray hair, it 144 being seemingly an inherited quality in certain families. I have also seen the same thing in other tribes. In regard to the light hair, one of the old men said to me that when God made them He as a special mark of His pleasure took the silky tassel of the corn with which to make their hair. As a matter of fact this peculiarity is of recent date. Since 1804, when Lewis and Clarke spent their winters with this tribe, their liking for the white men of their party is a matter of record, and particularly of one or two of the men who had red hair and blue eyes." (P. 241.)

The above expressed opinion that those peculiarities were of "recent date," and Clarke's evident intention of referring them as to origin to the period of the Lewis and Clarke visit is, we believe, so far fetched as to be without any substantial basis. We have already seen and will hereinafter find further references to evidences which are indisputable to the effect that long before Lewis and Clarke saw the Mandans they had become renowned in the Canadian and eastern American country as "Bearded Whites" and as "Welsh Indians." Even Verendrye, as will be seen later on, knew of those reports and expressed disappointment that the Mandans were not much nearer white men in complexion than he found them to be.

Clarke concludes with the following:

Religious Phases. "They place calico and other cloths round 774 the posts in their lodges as a gift to the god of timber to satisfy him for the spoilation, believing that it hurts a tree to be cut down; i. e., gives it physical pain. The tree is alive and its destruction is the destruction of life, but by giving something to God—making a sacrifice—it pleases Him and gives them good luck. This is a curious peculiarity of their religious belief, which is shared by no other tribe that I have ever met. Near the village 778 and cultivated fields I saw poles fifteen or twenty feet long planted in the ground, with bundles of female clothing tied to 783 these poles near the top. On inquiry they told me that these were gifts to the three Mandan medicine women, who keep the lodges for the sun—one where the sun rises, one at the zenith and one where the sun sets. These women never die, and the sun stops at their lodges to smoke. 'By watching closely,' said the old man, 'you can see that the sun stops for a short time just as he rises, the same at meridian, and he stays with the third at night.

783 We were told never to forget these women, and we make these gifts to them so that they will say a kind word for us.' Their oath is made by the moon or sun. After death they believe they 775 go to the east, and claim that a man killed in battle is better treated, better liked, in the hereafter than one who dies of disease. 186 They cling tenaciously to their old beliefs, customs and habits, and though they have adopted some of the manners of the Sioux and their own allies, the Arickarees and Gros Ventres, they are bitterly opposed to the ways of the whites.

197 **Language Different from Sioux.** In speaking of their language Mr. Mitchell says: 'I always contended that Mr. Gallatin was in error in supposing the Mandans and Sioux descended from the same stock. Mr. Kipp, who has been well acquainted with both tribes for upward of thirty years, and speaks both languages with great fluency and correctness, fully concurs with me in opinion. There are a few words that are somewhat similar in sound, but this Mr. Kipp accounts for by the fact of the Sioux and Mandans having been neighbors from time immemorable, and during intervals of peace visiting and intermarrying with each other.' Many of them now speak the Sioux language, and though I consider their vocal language as distinct and different from all others, still high authorities at present class it with the Sioux; that is, being with the same stock." (P. 242.)

From the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II (Cambridge, 1836), we quote the following concerning the Mandans, in which they are spoken of as one of three tribes of the Minnetarees. What is said therein concerning the chief Big White and the Welsh theory will receive consideration later on.

"The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

105 "Two of those tribes, the Mandans, whose numbers do not exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetaries, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahwas, cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboines, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians and other erratic

tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the 105
seat of their villages.

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under 773
ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who 142
visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest.

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen 197
of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language."(P. 125.)

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson 174
on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis-

174 souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

114 We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

000 **Verendrye's Account.** "On the morning of the 28th we arrived
at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who
arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four
Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height
considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared
of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where
a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He
431 came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his
part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of
276 their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how
to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that
it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to
account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some
of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I
was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other
Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no difference
291 from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with
a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

"I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for
000 all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying
the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

00d

among them; that he begged me to accept them among the number of your children; that he wished afterward to have to do only with us; that I might dispose of all he had; that he begged me to remain at his fort, that it was the nearest and smaller than the others, but well supplied with provisions; that there were six forts belonging to the same nation; that it was the only one not far from the river. He told me he had received two belts from me; that they had been shown to me on my arrival, as they had always hoped to see me. I thanked him for all his civilities and offers, telling him that I had come from a long distance to form a friendship with them, and that I would speak to them as soon as I should have arrived at their fort. He immediately played us a trick. Having examined our village on his arrival, as I have stated, judging that there would be many people, and if they all came to his fort, there must be a great consumption of grain, their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away, he gave many thanks to the Assiniboines for having brought the French among them; that it could not have happened more opportunely; that the Sioux would not be long of arriving among them, having been warned, begging me, like the Assiniboines, to assist them, hoping much from our valor and courage. I was entrapped like the Assiniboines, with this difference, that the Assiniboines stood confounded whilst I rejoiced, believing that I had found an opportunity to be avenged on that accursed nation. I promised him every assistance from myself and our Frenchmen should they come whilst we were with them, for which he thanked me. He was sent for to come to the feast and questioned respecting the Sioux. The Assiniboines, numerous, strong and robust men, are not brave; they greatly fear the Sioux, whom they think to be braver. The Mandans know their weakness and profit by it as opportunity arises. A counsel was held to discuss what should be done. The most decided opinion was that it was not necessary to go farther than to warn me of the risk I was about to run if I wished to pursue our course. An old man rose firmly: 'Do not think that our father is a coward; I know him better than the others do; I have been with him ever since he left his fort; do not believe that the Sioux can frighten him or any of his people. What will he think of us? He has lengthened his road to join us, agreeing to our wish for his company among the Mandans and to bring him back to his

000

fort. He would have gone today if he had not listened to us, and you would think of abandoning him by letting him go alone, which cannot be. If we fear the Sioux, let us leave our village here till our return; let every man able to march follow our father.' All agreed in the old man's opinion; it was decided that only a few should remain to protect the women; all the rest would accompany me. I was notified of the result of the counsel; word was sent throughout the village to warn every one to be ready to march the day after tomorrow, the 30th of the month, thus making a little longer delay among the Mandans, who knew how to profit by it by the sale of their grain, tobacco, peltry and painted plumes, which they know the Assiniboines greatly value, who had brought and now gave in exchange muskets, axes, kettles, powder, balls, knives and awls. They are much craftier in trade than the Assiniboines and others, who are constantly their dupes. We left on the morning of the 30th, about 600 men, several women without children, the best walkers.

"On the evening of the third day of our march, about seven leagues from the first fort of the Mandans, I was informed that an Assiniboine had taken the bag from my slave on the road under pretext of relieving him, and had returned to the village. My box, in which were my papers and many things of use to me, were in the bag. I immediately engaged two young men to run after him, whom I paid, making them promise to bring the bag to the Mandans, where I would wait for them. They set out during the night, overtook the rascal, who had already decamped from the village, made him return everything, and came back to their village to keep the whole, hoping to restore it to me on my return, not daring to come after me, being afraid of the Sioux. I saw myself deprived of many things which were of daily use.

"The orator gave notice that we must leave before four in the morning in order to arriver early at the fort. I found at a league and a half, about noon, near a small river, a number of people who had come to meet us had lighted fires, expecting us, and had brought coarse grain cooked and flour made into a paste, with pumpkins, to give us all enough to eat. Two chiefs had made a place ready for me near the fire and presented me first with something to eat and to smoke. Mr. de la Marque arrived shortly after me. I asked him to sit near me and eat whilst resting. We remained fully two hours resting.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"We were warned that it was time to go. I made one of my children take the flag painted with the arms of France and march at the front, and ordered the French to follow in ranks. The Sieur Nolant relieved my son in carrying the flag, each taking it in turn. The Mandans would not let me march, but offered to carry me, to which I had to consent, being requested by the Assiniboines, who told me I would displease them greatly if I refused. 300

"At four acres from the fort, on a small height, the old men of the fort, accompanied by a great number of the youth, were waiting to present me with the calumet and to show me the two belts I had sent them four or five years ago. They gave a seat to me and to Mr. de la Marque. I received their compliments, which related only to the joy they felt at our arrival. I ordered my son, the Chevalier, to make all our Frenchmen draw up in line, the flag four paces in front; all the Assiniboines who had muskets placed themselves in line like our Frenchmen. After compliments had been made I saluted the fort with three volleys. Many people came to meet us, but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches.

Enters Mandan Fort. "I marched in good order to the fort, into which I entered on the third day of December at four in the afternoon, escorted by all the French and Assiniboines. We were led into the hut of the head chief. It was certainly large, but not enough to hold all who wished to enter. The crowd was so great that they crushed one another, Assiniboines and the Mandans. There was only the place where we were, Mr. de la Marque, his brother and my children, free of them. I asked that the crowd should retire, to leave our Frenchmen clear, and put their baggage in a place of safety, telling them they had all time to see us. Every one was put out, but I had been too late. The bag of goods had been stolen, in which were all my presents, through the fault of one of the hired men in whose care I had placed it before reaching the fort. He had unloaded on entering the hut, without looking out for the bag, which he had put beside him in the great crowd. I felt rather confounded; my box lost, my bag of presents, which was very necessary for the place, and there were upwards of 300 livres inside. The Assiniboines seemed greatly annoyed, and at once made a strict but useless search. Their fort is full of caves, well suited for concealment.

"The chief of the Mandans appeared to be greatly moved at

000 my loss, and said for my consolation that there were many rascals among them. He would do his utmost to discover something about it. Had I accepted the offer of the Assiniboines I might have had it found in a little time by force, but I preferred to lose it and to make peace about everything, as I wanted to spend a part of the winter with them to get a knowledge of the more distant country. On the 14th. I had the principal Mandans and Assiniboines assembled in the hut where I was. I gave them my present of powder and balls, telling them that I could give them nothing else; that they all knew that what I had brought to give in presents had been carried off. I declared to them that I was inclined to remain some time to gain a knowledge of the country according to our orders, which I could not do in a day. The Mandans testified their joy, assuring me that I need not be afraid of fasting, that they had provisions in reserve, far more than were necessary for us, and that their whole fort was well supplied; that I might dispose of it being master among them. The elder of the Assiniboines, the orator of the village, said to me: 'My father, we have brought thee here; I do not doubt that thou mayest be well here; we flatter ourselves with bringing thee back to thy fort; thou art master to do what thou shalt consider suitable; we will come to seek thee as soon as thou shalt wish it.' Speaking then to the Mandans: 'We are leaving our father; take good care of him and of all the French; learn to know them; they know how to do everything; he is a spirit; we love and fear him; do like us. We leave much grieved at the theft which has been committed on our father by entering among us; what can he think of us? We cannot deny that it was an unworthy thing. The Frenchmen came to see us and you robbed him. We are pleased that our father should be good or it would not have passed in that way. I do not fear to tell you so; we could have found the bag had he wished it; there is still time if he will.' I made him finish, as I saw the old man was getting heated. One of the Mandan chiefs answered: 'Neither I nor my people have any share in what you accuse us of; I do not answer for others; I am vexed enough; I have had every search made by my young men; I have nothing to reproach myself with. Who knows if it is not an Assiniboine? There were some of both in the crowd; thou canst answer for nothing. Be not uneasy as to what regards our father and all his people; he is here master as if he

were at home. We beg him to number us among his children.' 000
This I did at once by putting my hands on the head of each chief, which is the usual ceremony, answered by loud shouts of joy and thanks. I then said to the Assiniboines: 'I am sending four Frenchmen to my fort to give my news there; I recommend you to get them to that place as soon as you can. I have left powder in the village, and all that is necessary to have them brought.' The council ended with loud thanks from both parties. As the Assiniboines did not yet speak of leaving, although they had purchased all they were able to do, such as painted ox robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin and ornamented furs and feathers, painted feathers and peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, girdles. These people dress leather better than any of the other nations 281
and work in furs and feathers very tastefully, which the Assiniboines are not capable of doing. They are cunning traders, cheat- 439
ing the Assiniboines of all they may possess, such as muskets, powder, balls, kettles, axes, knives or awls. Seeing the great 000
consumption of food daily by the Assiniboines, and afraid that it would not last long, they set afloat a rumor that the Sioux were near and that several of their hunters had noticed them. The Assiniboines fell into the trap and made up their minds quickly to decamp, not wishing to be obliged to fight. A Mandan chief let me understand by a sign that the rumor about the Sioux was to get rid of the Assiniboines. At six in the morning they all left in great haste, believing that the Sioux were near and fearing that the road might be blocked up. The chief with whom I had lodged brought five men to remain with me, saying: 'My father, I still hope that you will join us for a little; I march peaceably. Here are five of my young men, whom I give thee to remain with thee and to guide thee when thou shall wish to leave.' I made him a small present to thank him, telling him that he knew that I had sense and that I intended shortly to reward him for his attention. He left with great protestations of friendship. I was notified shortly after that an interpreter whom I had paid liberally to secure him had decamped in spite of all the offers which my son, the Chevalier, had made him, as he was going after an Assiniboine woman with whom he had fallen in love, but who would not remain with him. He was a young man of the Cree nation, speaking good Assiniboine. As there were several Mandans who spoke it well enough, I made myself very well under-

000

stood, as my son spoke Cree and the Cree interpreted into Assiniboine. But here was the height of misfortune, as we could only make ourselves understood by signs and demonstrations. If I had suspected my interpreter, who every day assured me that he would always remain with me and never abandon me, I would have taken advantage of the time I had him with me to make the demands on the Mandans I wished to make. But flattering myself that I had a man on whom I could rely I put off till after the departure of the Assiniboines. All day I was greatly embarrassed; all that I wanted to know and the few questions which I had put were asked in the evening after every one had retired, such as if there were many people along the river going down, and what nations; if the places at a distance were known. I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river belonging to their nation, much larger than that in which we were; that at a day's journey from the last of their forts were the Pananas, who had several forts; then the Pananis; that these two nations, who held much of the country and were now at war for four years, had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together; that he would tell me afterwards the causes which had set them at variance. The Pananas and Pananis made their forts like them. In summer they grew wheat and tobacco on the lower part of the river, which was very wide, land not being visible from one shore to the other; the water bad for drinking. All these lands are inhabited by whites like us, who work in iron. The word iron among all the nations here means all sorts of metals, which they call iron; that they only marched on horseback, both for hunting and war; that these men could not be killed by arrow or musket, being covered with iron, but that by killing the horse the man could be caught easily, as he could not run; that he had a shield of iron very clear, fought with lances and sabers, with which he was very skillful; the women were never seen in the fields; their forts and houses are stone. I asked if there were fine woods, and if the prairie continued in heights and hollows. He answered that the wood was along the river in places and also on the prairies in islands; that the farther down the more the hills increased; that many of them were only rocks of fine stone, especially along the river. I asked if it took long to go to where the whites, the horsemen, were. I was answered that the Pananas and Pananis had horses like the

whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and 000
that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color, which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure.

"Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure Mr. de la Marque walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications.

The Village. "I decided to have the huts counted. It was 361
found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the
streets, squares and huts resemble each other. Several of our 712
Frenchmen wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad, the palisades supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above when needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain, well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie, with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts, which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black.

"The women are faily good looking, especially the white, many 142
with blonde and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation
are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated 342
into several compartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying
about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds 513

342
513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always
naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort
251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food,
436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with
these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it
304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing,
but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of
285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and
in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like
323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most
part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every
261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all
cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them
continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share
141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active,
fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have
not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball
526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

000

could not understand us. We did not cease going to their feasts all the time we were at their fort, but could not attend all those to which we were asked. We noticed that in the plain there were several small forts, of forty or fifty huts, built like the large ones, but no one was there at the time. They made us understand that they came inside for the summer to work their fields and that there was a large reserve of grain in their cellars. This was all the information they could give of their journey. On the 8th of December I ordered my son to take the altitude, which was 48 degrees 12 minutes. On the evening of the 7th I had consulted with Mr. de la Marque as to the course we should take. Like myself, he knew that little remained with us for presents, which rendered it impossible for us to go farther; the season too trying to be able to undertake anything, and above all no interpreter nor any hope of getting one during the winter. We had every reason to fear that the roads would become impracticable in spring on account of the waters and with the risk of arriving too late for the setting out of our canoes; the powder I would have would not perhaps be enough to supply all our wants during the winter, and with the small quantity of goods remaining we might find ourselves in a difficulty about all our people, having no longer anything to carry us on, as the Indians would only serve us so far as they were paid, and that in advance, as they looked on promises as a very small resource. On the other hand, that we had reason to apprehend setting out on a march in the worst season of the year. After having considered the whole we decided that we must set out, leaving two men fit to learn the language in a short time, one in the fort in which we were and the other in the nearest fort, as being alone they could learn much more quickly and could consequently give all the information. Mr. de la Marque selected one of his hired men, a man of intelligence, whom he offered me as being one of the most capable, able to write. I accepted him with pleasure and gave him my servant as the second. Although he was very useful to me, as well as very useful and attached to my service, I preferred to deprive myself of him for the good he might afterwards render, knowing his strong and quick intellect, with a good memory and a facility in learning languages, very wise and fearing God. I gave him full instructions of all he had to do, and on his side Mr. de la Marque promised to send to look after them next summer. That ended, so far as regarded the two men whom I left, I notified our five Assiniboines, whom I made to understand that I wished to set out shortly, which gave them much joy. I showed them by signs, not being able to make myself understood otherwise, that it would be necessary for them to set out with the two Frenchmen on the morning of the next day, that everything would be ready for them, so that they might go speedily to the village to warn them to expect us; that I would leave four days after them, so that I might prepare everything for the journey. I then informed the Mandans of my design, which appeared to give them much sorrow. I showed them the two Frenchmen whom I left in my place, recommending that they should be taken good care of. They gave me many thanks, with great protestations of friendship and fidelity. I then let them know that I would not abandon them. I asked the chief to give me meat for the journey. The news soon spread throughout the fort.

"On the morning of the 8th I made the two Frenchmen set out, guided by two Assiniboines, as I have already said, to go to warn the village of my departure. Wheat flour pounded for the journey was brought, much more than was necessary.

"I thanked them, giving them some needles, which they greatly value. They would have loaded a hundred men for the journey; in a short time all hastened to bring me some. I made all our people take what they wished, which was done in a very short time. Having provided for all that our people needed, I assembled the chiefs and principal Mandans, made them a present of powder, balls and several trifles, which they greatly value, owing to their need of them. I gave the head chief a flag, gave him a leaden plate, which I had ornamented with ribbon at the four corners. It was put into a box to be kept in perpetuity in memory of my taking possession of their lands, which I did in the King's name. It will be preserved from father to son better than if I had put it in the ground, where it would have run the risk of being stolen. I made them understand as well as I could that I left them that mark in memory of the Frenchman who had come upon their lands. I very much desired I could have made them understand, in order to tell them many things which might have been very useful to them and to us, which to my regret and theirs I could not do.

"I had wrought with so much diligence that on the evening

000

of the 8th everything was ready for our departure, which I calculated to accomplish sooner than I had given notice of. During the night, between the 8th and 9th, I was taken ill, and in a very short time I was very ill; I did not know what to think of it. I kept my bed for three days. Finding myself better on the 4th I prepared to set out the next day. I gave the two men enough to defray their expenses liberally, and even to pay a guide if need were to bring them to our fort; informed them once again of the cause which obliged me to leave them there. So soon as they could make themselves understood they were to neglect nothing to learn what was this nation of whites, what metal they worked with; if there were any mines to their knowledge; what nations were above, going up the river; if they knew a height of land—in a word, to neglect nothing to obtain all possible information respecting the country. (P. 25.)

"I set out, although ill, in the hope that it would be nothing, and that I would recover at the village my box in which I had put some remedies. On the 13th of December, to the great regret of all Mandans, a chief came to conduct us a league and half's distance, whence I sent him back. He testified to me by great demonstrations the regret he felt at my departure, making a sign that I would not abandon him, but to return and he would accompany us. I gave him a small present of powder, once more recommending the two Frenchmen whom I had left with them. He made me a sign that he would take one to his own house. I dismissed him after giving him many thanks. In the evening I noticed that we had only two Assiniboines with us. They made me understand that one had remained with our Frenchmen, not wishing to abandon them; that they would return only in summer with them. I arrived at the village on the 24th, still very ill. We had experienced excessive cold, which caused great delay. My box was restored to me; nothing had been touched; they had been satisfied with the slave's bag, which was returned to me empty. Having rested a little, I reproached them for lying to me respecting the Mandans; that there was very little truth in all they had told me.

"They answered that they had not pretended to speak of the Mandans, saying that they were like us; that they had intended to speak of the nation which is at the lower part of the river, who work in iron. An Assiniboine rose above the others, saying

000 to me: 'This is the only one who can speak better to thee about it. Thou dost not understand properly what has been said to thee; I do not lie. Last summer I killed one who was covered with iron, as I have already said several times. If I had not killed the horse first I could not have killed the man.'

"I said to him: 'What hast thou brought of his spoil to show us that thou speakest the truth?' 'As I wished to cut off his head I noticed men on horseback, who were blocking the way; I escaped with difficulty; I kept nothing to carry off; I threw away everything I had, even to my blanket in my flight. What I say is true, and I will have it told to thee by others who were with me the following spring. They are not here now, but thou shall see them. What I have said I repeat; the other side of the river cannot be seen; the water is salt; it is a country of mountains; a great extent between the mountains of fine land; many cattle, big and stout, white and of different colors; many stags and deer; I have seen their wheat fields, where no women are to be seen; what I tell thee is without deceit; thou will learn further of it afterwards.'"

823 It cannot well be doubted that what is recorded by Verendrye as having been related to him by the Mandans concerning the whites "who work in iron" on "the lower part of the rivers" refers to the Spaniards and mailed warriors of that race inhabiting the lower Mississippi, and that the Mandans then knew enough of that lower country to understand that those whites peopled it; and it seems a fair deduction from the reference to the lower part of the river being "very wide, land not being visible from one shore to the other; the water bad for drinking," that they there referred to the mouth of the Mississippi. Again, they speak of the "Pananas"; that is, the Pawnees or Aricaras, as having "several forts at a day's journey from the last of their forts." It also appears that some of their own warriors had come into hostile contact with the Spaniards, and it was made clear to Verendrye from information given him by the Mandans that "on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous, and had wars with a large part of the Indians," whose "forts and houses are stone," and that it would "take a whole summer to make the journey" to the whites below.

000 Now it is in evidence from an entirely different source that

Now it is in evidence from an entirely different source that prior to the spring of 1734—over four years before Verendrye 648 visited the Mandans—a Frenchman had visited the Aricaras at their upper Missouri villages, that fact being evidenced by "a letter from Bienville, dated April 22nd, 1734, stating that a Frenchman, having lived several years among the Pawnees, had ascended the Missouri river to the Ricaras, who had never before seen a Frenchman." That letter is taken from Margry, Vol. 6, page 455. See the Appendatory Note to Part I of this paper in Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., page 586, which note refers to Vol. 9, Kas. Hist. Coll. for 1905-6, as the source of the information. From all of which, and the information imparted to Verendrye by the Mandans, it would seem that communication, however imperfect and irregular, between the whites below and the Indians as far up as the Aricara villages of the Missouri, had already been established when that intrepid explorer made his first memorable visit to the Mandans. Whether the advent of the Frenchman at the Aricara villages had anything to do with the commencement of that war between those Indians and the Mandans which he was told had then raged "for four years," and prior to which, according to further information given him, the Pawnees (Aricaras) and the Mandans "had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together"—may never be determinable by competent evidence; but as the dawn of the fur trade of the upper Missouri was not to appear for some fifty years then yet to come, it is safe to declare that fur traffic or its incidents in rivalries and overreachings among the whites had nothing to do with this first breach between the tribes in question. Verendrye's record concerning the long duration of peace and alliance between the upper Missouri Pawnees and the Mandans at that early date is significant as indicating that the Mandans had then long been in those quarters. And that the Pananas "made their forts like them" (i. e., the Mandans) is also indicative of a long period of mutual experience in housebuilding by both tribes in that general locality. And it seems highly probable that such resemblance in the character of habitations is less likely to have been occasioned by the proximity of the two tribes brought about through a southwestward approach to the Missouri by the Mandans and an up-river progress 648 by the Aricaras, than to have followed a mutual progress up-river. And when we further consider that all of the formidable village 712 defenses of both tribes were, according to information recorded

648
712

by Verendrye, such as brought him to conclude that "they may be called impregnable to Indians," there would seem to be made out at least a presumptive case of mutual defense by Mandans and Aricaras against enemies from below—including the dreaded Sioux—rather than against those from the north; in other words, that such formidable earthworks as are thus recorded, including in at least one case a ditch "upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide," reinforced by "ramparts very level and broad, the palisade supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet," were probably the climax of the efforts of years to ward off a strong, persistent and generally successful foe who had driven both tribes up the Missouri.

0+0

From Agnes C. Laut's "Pathfinders of the West" (Macmillan Co., 1904) we quote the following extract relating to the second contact of the Verendryes (sons of him who headed the expedition of 1738) with the Mandans in 1742. The account is set forth in the spirited phrases indicative of movement and inspiration, for which that gifted author is famous:

"The two men left among the Mandans to learn the language had returned to the Assiniboine river with more news of tribes from the "setting sun" who dwelt on salt water. Pierre de la Verendrye went down to the Missouri with the two interpreters, but the Mandans refused to supply guides that year and the young Frenchman came back to winter on the Assiniboine. Here he made every preparation for another attempt to find the Western Sea by way of the Missouri. On April 29th, 1742, the two brothers, Pierre and Francois, left the Assiniboine with the two interpreters. Their course led along the trail that for two hundred years was to be a famous highway between the Missouri and Hudson Bay. Leading southwest, they followed the Souris river to the watershed of the Missouri, and in three weeks were once more the guests of the smoky Mandan lodges. Round the inside walls of each circular hut ran berth beds of buffalo skins with trophies of the chase, hide shields and weapons of war, fastened to the posts that separate berth from berth. A common fire, with a family meat pot hanging above, occupied the center of the lodge. In one of these lodges the two brothers and their men were quartered. The summer passed feasting with the Mandans and smoking the calumet of peace; but all was in vain. The Missouri Indians were arrant cowards in the matter of war. The terror of their existence was the Sioux. The Mandans would not venture through Sioux territory to accompany the brothers in the search for the Western Sea." (p. 230 to 231.)

The writer of this paper can not withhold an expression of doubt as to the justice of the statement contained in the above quotation that the Mandans were "arrant cowards in the matter of war." While all the evidences point to them as being loth to embark in offensive war, and as being peaceably inclined, yet we believe the records of their experience after the whites came among them—being evidences of the same general character—indicate that when it came to defense of their homes and tribal rights they were brave and effectual fighters, among the incidents of which defensive action offensive campaigns were not unknown.

Next in chronological order among the visitors to the Mandans, after the Verendryes, and who have left written accounts of their experience, is David Thompson, a reference to whose journal of his short sojourn among them from December 29th, 1797, to January 10th, 1798, we have hereinbefore set forth as found in Dr. Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals, to which reference we here cite the reader, the account being very brief. (And see those Journals, Vol. 1, pp. 301-2.)

However, before Thompson came to the Mandans various other traders and their employes had visited them, though but very brief mention is to be found in known records, which journals were not made by the visitors themselves. For instance, Dr. Coues found, as shown in Vol. I of his Henry-Thompson Journals, page 302, the following entry in McDonnell's Journal of May 21st, 1795, published in Masson I, 1889, p. 294: "Jussome and the Mandan men arrived here with their returns fifteen days ago, all but Joseph Dube, who deserted from the rest and stayed with the Indians of the Missouri." Also, that in McDonnell's Journal of December 10th, 1793, the following entry recorded in the same note by Dr. Coues: "The nine men equipt (on their own account) for the Missouri started, viz: Raphael Faignan, Antoine Bourier de Lacigne, Joseph Dube, J. B. Lafrance, Joseph Tranquille, J. B. Bertrand, Chrysostome Joncquard, Louis Houle et Francois La Grave." Those men above referred to under date May 21st, 1795, were in the employ of the Northwest Company. Coues also states in the same note that the Hudson Bay Company also sent traders

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

006

from the Assiniboine to the Missouri "in those years," but that no memoranda "of names and exact dates" were at hand.

Le Raye's Journal. We now come in point of time to what is believed to be the most important historical document extant which, from the standpoint of the Indians, pertains to the years immediately preceding the advent into the upper Missouri region of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, and shows in a very vivid and highly intelligent manner the daily life and adventures of the Sioux Indians of that period, and incidentally of the Mandans and Aricaras. We refer to the Journal of Charles LeRaye, the French Canadian, who left Canada in the summer of 1801, bound for a trading venture on the Missoui river via the French settlement on the Illinois, who in the fall of that year while with his men on the upper Osage river was captured by what he supposed were Osage, but who later proved to be Bois Brule Sioux Indians; who was taken thence in actual, though for the most part virtually privileged captivity, northward and who for three and one-half years remained in captivity, having traveled with the Indians twice up and down the entire upper Missouri river country, during which time he doubled back and forth in what is now South Dakota several times, visited in 1802 the Aricara villages, where he conceived and afterward reduced to writing the most intelligent account of their habitations, their agriculture, their personal attributes and some of their manners and customs we have anywhere read; who in June of that year visited the Mandan villages, of which Indians he leaves a valuable sketch, especially concerning their burial rituals and their splendid house furnishings in furs, etc., and notes that they spoke the Osage tongue, but with a different accent and dialect, who after first returning from the upper Missouri camped with Indians on what he calls the Sasqui river—the Vermillion near the present town of Parker—in July, 1803; thence to the Missouri in the neighborhood of the mouth of the White river and northward. and after returning to the "Sasqui" comes up to the mouth of the Teton river, where Pierre and Fort Pierre were in time to come into being; who from thence went, with the Indians' consent, in the fall of the latter year again to the "Rus" (Rees) village, where he spent the winter of 1802-3 "with a number of traders belonging to Saint Louis," and who noted that the Sioux were enemies of the traders on the Missouri; who says the traders with whom he wintered went up the

ood

Cheyenne the next spring and he himself was taken down to the Sioux (Big Sioux) river, removing thence in June to the "Sasqui," and who was probably beyond a doubt the first white man in the Indian country above the Sioux river to learn of the coming of the Lewis and Clarke party, recording the fact in these words: "On the 26th of August a report was spread among the Indians that a party, an army, as they called it, of soldiers were coming up the Missouri," and who narrates the successive Indian councils which followed this report, "to deliberate on the object this army should have in view" and looking to making war upon that expedition and resulting in a declaration of war to be begun against them and also against the Mandans and Gros Ventres the next spring, and to inviting the 'Rus' to join them, and who declares in this connection that during the winter (1804-5) "large bodies of Indians assembled on the Sioux river and the River Sasqui, near to the Missouri," but that spies reported early in the spring that "the soldiers had gone farther up the river," ending his journal entries with the statement that thereafter, upon reaching the Missouri, he secretly planned for and effectuated his escape with a "Mr. Pantille, a Frenchman, who had long resided in the country, principally with the Titon-anah band of Sioux," going down the Missouri—probably from the mouth of the James—in a light canoe "on the night of the 26th of April," and arriving ten days later at "the town of Saint Johns, which is the upper settlement on the Missouri river," and whose fatigues and exposures during those fateful years left him confined for eighteen months with rheumatism.

The Le Raye Journal is contained in a publication prepared "By a Late Officer in the U. S. Army," the publisher being "Charles Williams, Boston, 1812," and entitled "A Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Louisiana. To which is added "An Interesting Journal of Mr. Charles Le Raye While a Captive with the Sioux Nation on the Waters of the Missouri River."

In view of the fact that this Le Raye Journal is so scarce a publication as to be next to unobtainable, and its contents are so closely related to the general subject of this paper as to render it, we believe, excusable to bring the bulk of its contents into the former; and while that part of it bearing upon the Aricaras or "Rus" would ordinarily be postponed to the later portion of the paper wherein we shall speak a final word relative to that tribe, we shall present Le Raye's narrative in its substantial continuity so as to make its perusal the more cogent and valuable. Before doing so substantial credit to Doane Robinson, secretary of the South Dakota Historical Society, dictates that we should state his proverbial vigilance in seeking out the rarest "finds" in historical lore from "parts unknown" has again resulted in the possession by that society of another and a most precious volume of the earliest accounts of primary experience in the northwest.

After Le Raye and his six Frenchmen of his trading party were captured on the upper Osage, in the night, they were taken northward, and some distance south of a branch of the Kansas river he discovered, as his journal shows, "that the Indians were not Osage, but a party of Sioux, of the Bois Bucil (Brule) band." Proceeding probably northwestward they struck and followed "the Kansas warpath to the Missouri," a few miles then left it and went northward, and camped on a branch of the Kansas, on which farther down they stopped at the Indians' camp, where the Frenchman Pardo, "who resided with this people," assured him, after finding that his men (prisoners) were all Frenchmen, "that we should be well treated," and they were then unbound (they had been kept bound nights since captivity), Pardo explaining that the Le Raye party had been accidentally come upon by the Sioux in pursuit of Osages who "had killed some of their band, but suspecting me to be taking goods and arms to the Osage Indians, their enemies, they took me." He notes that Pardo had told him "that in a few days the band would go to the Ricarus village, where more of the band were." This probably meant a village of the Pawnees on the Platte, as we shall see. They went on, crossing the Kansas forty miles above its mouth, thence northwestward to a branch of the Platte. "Here the Indians separated, and about 150 directed their course toward the Missouri, with whom all my men were taken. Mr. Pardo, myself, the chief who took me and the rest of the Indians continued their course toward the Ricaras village," reaching the Platte November 24th, 1801. It will be seen that Le Raye adopts two spellings of the word indicating the Rees, viz., "Ricaras"—the probably usual mode—and "Ricarus," which is much more rare.

Le Raye's journal here shows: "The Panis, Ottoes, Missouri and Wolf Indians live on the waters of this river (Platte) and are all at war with the Sioux." Crossing the Platte November 25th, he notes that they continued "northwesterly," reaching and crossing the Missouri December 2nd, "near the mouth of the Little Sioux," continuing their course "on the north side of the Missouri, often near it, until we arrived at the lodges on the Sioux river, which was on the 8th, where we prepared to spend the remainder of the winter." Here is a reference to South Dakota soil. Having wintered there with "the dirtiest creatures on earth," then on March 20th, 1802, "left this camp of filth and misery," and "proceeded towards the Ricaras, or Rus, as the traders call them." "We arrived on the banks of the Missouri, near the salt springs, on the 23rd," and proceeded up the river to a point about twenty miles below the mouth of the White river, where they crossed the Missouri, reaching White river on the 27th, thence up that stream sixteen miles, where "a small party of Rus joined us at this camp;" crossed the White "and continued our journey towards the Rus village." These last references were, of course, to the upper villages on the Missouri. April 9th they camped on Tyler's creek, and on the 12th "we arrived opposite Tuton (Teton) river;" thence westerly to "the river Chein, or Dog river," reached on the 14th, "and immediately crossed it in buffalo canoes." Then follows the journal narrative:

Ricara Villages—"Huts": "We met with a camp of the Rus Indians, who were hunting, and continued there until the 18th, when they joined us, and we proceeded to the villages about sixty miles, traveling through a country destitute of timber and interspersed with large hills. On the 22nd, arrived at the lower village and joined several camps of Sioux and Dog Indians. The Ricaras or Rus have three villages situated on the south bank of the Missouri in the great bend of the river. The lower village is on a large bottom, covered with cottonwood, and contains about fifty huts. These huts were built in a different manner, and were more comfortable habitations than any Indian huts I had seen before. To build their huts they cut four forked posts, which are up fifteen feet high. Two of these posts stand eighteen inches apart, and two stand at the distance of ten feet from the other two posts and ten feet from each other, on which two ridge poles are placed. Around these posts they erect sixteen forked posts more, six feet high, which are so placed as to form a circular figure, eighteen feet in diameter. On the front side two more posts, six feet long, are set up, ten feet from the building and four feet apart. Short poles are then laid round on these sixteen forks, and on the forks of the two posts which project in front to connect them with the building. Stakes are then placed in a reclining position, so as to lean against the poles which are placed on the six feet posts, and stand eight or nine inches apart. At the upper end of these stakes poles are fastened, so that the other end rests upon the ridge poles. When the frame is thus completed the whole is covered with willow and cottonwood branches, except an opening between the ridge poles, for the smoke to pass, and the space in front of the projection, which is left for a doorway. Over the branches is laid a covering of long grass, and over the grass a coat of clay mortar.

"These huts are placed with great regularity in two straight rows. The doors in each row front those in the opposite row, so that the huts stand facing each other, with a space of twelve feet between the doors. The town is picketed with pickets twelve feet high and set very close, to prevent firing between them. There is one gateway, which is shut at night."

It will be seen that Le Raye does not state that the Indian party went down the Cheyenne river after crossing it, while it does appear that they spent four days after proceeding from where they crossed "to the villages about sixty miles," being accompanied by some Ree Indians; that they traveled through "a country destitute of timber" in reaching the Ree villages, which we believe shows that they did not go down the Cheyenne, which stream certainly had and still has considerable timber upon its borders; that they reached the lower one of "three villages, situated on the south bank of the Missouri in the great bend of the river." The thought naturally arises, could Le Raye, in using the phrase "the great bend of the river," have really referred to the important landmark at the mouth of the Cheyenne known in history and by the Indians as the "Little Bend?" We do not believe that he did. This point is important, since if he did find in the "Little Bend" three inhabited Ree villages, then those villages must all have been deserted for the three villages in the immediate neighborhood of the mouth of the Grand river found by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, only three years later. On the contrary, we believe it is reasonably plain and certain from

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

002

Le Raye's account that the Ree villages to which he refers were all "on the south bank of the Missouri," to-wit, on the westerly side of the Missouri in what is really a "great bend" of the river where it swings westward and then back southeasterly at the mouth of the Grand river. Comparing this theory with the account of Lewis and Clarke concerning the three villages found by that expedition in the immediate neighborhood of the mouth of the Grand river we find that not one of those three villages found by the latter was on the northerly or easterly bank of the Missouri, but they were either on islands or on the westerly or southerly bank. (See Part I of this paper, S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 381-385.) Furthermore, it does not seem possible that the Le Raye party would have spent four days in proceeding down the Cheyenne to its mouth from where they crossed it, since they spent but two days in going from near the mouth of the Teton to the Cheyenne; nor does he mention the mouth of the Cheyenne. Still further Lewis and Clarke made no mention of any inhabited Ree villages on the northerly side of the mouth of the Cheyenne or the Little Bend vicinity beyond the Cheyenne, nor do they even mention a deserted Ree village north of the Cheyenne until they had proceeded upward of forty miles. The Journal proceeds:

"These people are much more cleanly in their person, dress and food than the Sioux. They are also of a lighter complexion. which is of a bright copper color, with acquiline noses and black, lively eyes. The women have high check bones, oval faces and regular features. Both men and women are of a social, sprightly make. The men are tall and well formed, and the women, though smaller, are equally well shaped, and rather handsome than otherwise. Their dress consists of a shift made of dressed deer skins, and reaches from the chin, below the knee, to the middle of the leg, with short sleeves. It is secured round the waist by a belt of wampum. They wear moccasins and leggins, and in the winter a buffalo robe, thrown over their shoulders. The men wear a wide strip of leather about three feet long, which they draw betwen their legs and fasten it around the middle by a belt. They have long leggins and moccasins and a buffalo robe over their shoulders.

"These Indians raise corn, beans, melons, pumpkins and tobacco. Their tobacco differs from that which is raised by the white people. It has a smaller stalk, that grows about eighteen inches high, with long, narrow leaves, and is only used for smoking. The Indians never chew nor snuff tobacco. They carry on at these villages a considerable commerce with these productions, having much more than they want for their own consumption. It is a barter trade with neighboring nations, who never cultivate the ground, for such articles of European goods as they have procured at the British establishments at the Falls of Saint Anthony or from traders; and also for horses, mules, dried meat and other articles. Their principal customers are the Sioux, the Chein Indians, Watapahatoes, Gens-dis-vatch, Kites and Dotame, the most of whom, except the Sioux, reside on the river Chein. This nation was once very numerous, and consisted of ten tribes of the Panis, who reside on the river La Plate, and whose tongue they speak in somewhat different accent. They have now not much over five hundred warriors, having been reduced from five thousand warriors to their present number in less than thirty years by the smallpox and attacks of their enemies, particularly by the Sioux, who have got them so far under subjection that they dare not offend them, and are frequently robbed, plundered and even murdered without daring to resent it. This information was given me by an old chief of the lower villages." (Pages 171 to 174, Le Raye's Journal.)

Feast—Ornaments. "The lower village, on the 20th of May, held their great feast. Two days' previous notice was given by their principal chiefs. There being a number of camps of different tribes, they were all invited to join, and in the morning of the festival were dressed out in their best attire and made no indifferent appearance. Their faces were daubed with a variety of paints. Their ears, noses and hair were full of silver rings and of silver and glass trinkets, with silver breastplates and a multitude of beads hanging round their necks. Their hair was also filled with the feathers of the eagle and other large birds. Bandages full of brooches were tied round their foreheads; their cloths neatly worked with porcupine quills and beads and large wampum belts around the middle. Their moccasins and leggins strung with bits of brass and beads, worked full of porcupine quills and horsehair, dyed red. In this finical, gaudy dress they all assembled in a place prepared for the purpose, near the village, in the fore part of the day. The men only partake of the feast, but

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the women are distant spectators, for they are never suffered to eat with the men, neither at feasts nor in their own families when strangers are present. This, however, does not prevent them from decorating themselves for the occasion. After all had assembled the head chief of the village addressed the people in an impressive speech, in which he informed them that it had been a practice, time immemorial, to celebrate the return of spring by a feast to the Great Spirit. He recommended to them peaceable and friendly behavior, and told them that as the Great Spirit had given them an unclouded sky he was well pleased with their intention, and that each one should be careful not to offend him by improper conduct.

"After the address, the company were seated, and the head chief opened his medicine bag, from which he drew the sacred stem or pipe. This he placed on the sticks set in the ground before him for the purpose. Fire was then brought and he lighted the pipe, and blowed the smoke to the east, south, west and north; after which he handed the pipe to the chief next to him, on the right, who smoked two or three whiffs and passed it to the next, and so on, until it had gone round the company.

"The provisions were now brought forward, composed entirely of dog flesh, and placed before the great chief, and each one sent in his dish to him, in turn; for before they came, every one took care to provide a dish for himself. Some of the youth attended as waiters to the company. The greatest order and regularity was observed during the feast. Each one considered himself obliged to eat all that was sent him; but at such feasts it is seldom more than they can devour in a few minutes. As soon as the feast was ended, fire was brought, and the whole commenced smoking, which was continued for about an hour. The smoking then ceased and the dance commenced. Their music consisted of beating on buffalo skins, shaking dried parrow and martin skins, tied up, in a form to contain small stones, and beating on a kind of drum, made by stretching a skin, dressed like parchment, over the end of a hollow log about four feet long, which is joined by the singing of the company. Their songs are a rehearsal of the exploits of themselves and their ancestors, and is accompanied with a variety of antic gestures. In all their movements they

000 keep exact time; dance in a circle around a fire, never taking hold of hands, nor touching one another unless by accident. The dance continued until near morning. When the dance was closed, all retired to their respective quarters, perfectly quiet and peacable. Although the company consisted of not less than a thousand people, of different nations, and some of whom were mortal enemies to others, there was not the least confusion heard during the day or night."

Gambling. "The Indians are extravagantly fond of gambling, and spend most of their leisure hours in it. The game they appear most attached to is played with eight bones, of the size of a man's finger, of an oval form, three-fourths of an inch long, with four square sides, two of which are colored black and red. They are placed on wooden trenchers, or oval platters. From this dish the bones are tossed into the air, and then caught in the dish. They win or lose according to the number of a certain color, previously agreed upon, being uppermost, until the game is finished, which is always forty-five. Two bands or parties will play at this game, the loser rising and letting one of his party take his place, until the whole band has had a part in the game. They often play for all the property they possess, and after losing that, set up their wives and children, for they are considered a man's property, as much as their arms, or any thing they possess. Another game is played by means of small sticks, five inches long, of the size of a goose quill, neatly polished and marked with red and black lines. Forty of these sticks are divided between the two persons who play. One wraps up a part of his stick in grass, the other matches a part of his to them. If they agree in number or color of the lines, the one that matches wins five, or otherwise loses the same number. The game is always forty.

"On the 18th of May, several parties of Indians arrived from the river Chein, for the purpose of trading, consisting of Dog Indians, Gens-dis-valch, Kaewas, and Kales. A trader likewise came in from the Assiniboine river.

"They all assembled at the village, at the mouth of the Warriuna river, and our camp moved up to the same village. The trader soon procured what furs of any value they had to dispose of, and departed. Mr. Pardo having procured a supply of

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ammunition, proposed to ascend the Missouri, on a hunting expedition with a party of Gros Ventres, with whom he was connected by marriage. His wife was the daughter of the chief of this nation. He applied to the chief of our camp, to whom I belong, whose name is Man-di-tongue-go, for liberty for me to accompany him. The chief consented that I should go with him, on condition that I should give him a part of the skins I procured, and lent me an old musket. There were three of the Sioux, one of whom was his relation, who agreed to go with us. 000

"We started on the 27th of May, crossed Missouri, and arrived the same evening at the upper village. This village is situated on an island, in the Missouri, and is fortified in the same manner as the lower village, containing about sixty huts. Our party consisted of twenty-seven men, six women and four children; none of the Gros Ventres having their familiies with them. The next morning we proceeded, and soon left the Missouri, traveling a northwest course, in a well beaten path. The land on each side of us ascended into high ridges. On the northern side of them, was considerable timber, mostly cedar and the land poor. The path continued up the valley, but often passed over low ridges. On the 29th, we struck a branch of the stream called by the traders, Ball river. We followed this branch to its mouth. Here we crossed Ball river." (Pages 175 to 180 LeRaye's journal.)

Mandan Villages. "We now frequently passed camps of Mandans, and on the 5th of June, arrived at the lower Mandan village. This village, which is above the great bend of the Missouri, is situated on a pleasant interval, covered with cottonwood and cedar. Is built and fortified in the same manner as those of the Rus. Here, a sight new to me, and exceedingly disagreeable, arrested my attention as soon as I came in view of the village. This was their manner of disposing the bodies of the dead. Immediately after my arrival I had an opportunity of witnessing the funeral ceremonies practiced by these people, which was in the following manner: A dead body was brought out of the hut, and laid on the ground before it, dressed in its best apparel, and wrapped in a buffalo robe. The relations and principal part of the people in the village, assembled around it. A fire was then made, and the sacred stem or pipe, was brought and lighted. The deceased having been a warrior, an eulogy of considerable 764

764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

Complexion, Etc. "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are 142 of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous 291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or 353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They 439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The 648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.) 648 197 161

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages." 171

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times. 000

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

000 crossed the Knife to the north side above "the second large fork;" on the 10th came to the Road river branch of the "Jaun," went to its mouth, where "we supposed ourselves about a hundred miles from the mouth" of the Yellowstone; crossed it and ascended it to the mouth of the Crooked river July 19th; August 3rd they "moved up to the mountains," meeting a camp of the "Paunched Indians." "The mountains here are steep, and some of their sides are covered with a small growth, mostly of the spruce kind. The stream we were ascending is winding, interrupted, and full of rapids, but is about one hundred yards wide. We encamped in a large interval, at the mouth of a small stream, and continued here until the 12th. * * On the 25th, we proceed up, eighteen miles, to the mouth of a large fork of the river, which comes from the north, and encamped on a plain. At this encampment, the snow-topped mountains appeared to be at no great distance. * * In the evening (of the 28th) we had a severe storm of hail. * * On the 30th, moved further up the river. * * On the 2nd of September, had a heavy shower of snow, after which we returned to our encampment of the 28th of August; then crossed the river and followed up a south branch about sixteen miles, thereafter crossing "over a mountain" to a branch of the Big Horn river, down which they proceeded where, on September 30th they camped with some Crow Indians, arriving at the Big Horn October 5th; on the south side of which a winter camp of the Crows was found, the huts being "some three feet below the surface of the ground, but otherwise are built nearly similar to the Gros Ventres. In the center a post is erected, with notches cut in it for steps, and a hole is left open at the top of it, sufficiently large for a man to crawl out, which is their passage in and out, during the winter." The mouth of the Big Horn was reached October 11th, where they found more Crows and some Snake Indians with whom the former had been at war. "We were the first white people which either they, or the Flatheads had ever seen." October 16th they ascended the Yellowstone, meeting more "Paunch Indians," and continuing on, "passing many camps of Indians." until the 22nd when they reached "the mouth of a large branch which comes from the southeast; camping about six miles up said branch for the winter on the 25th, in a grove of cottonwood and willows, and we formed as comfortable huts as possible. Mr. Pardo and myself

built one for our own accommodation." They were in sight of the 000 mountains, with a mountain to eastward, "called the Turtle." March 12th, 1803, they moved up the river they had wintered upon, which he notes as the Stillwater river; found some salt springs on the 15th; proceeding thence northward and on April 4th camped on a branch of the Stillwater; arriving at the "Road river" on the 12th, reaching the "Salt Springs" on the 13th, and thence to the mouth of Knife river, arriving there April 24th; left the upper Gros Ventres village May 4th "with a large number of Indians for the trading post on the Assinniboine" about 100 miles away, arriving there May 11th. The Indians still held him. "The traders not be willing to offend the Indians, I was obliged to remain with them. On the 5th of June, I parted with Mr. Pardo and my former companions, and went with a party of Sioux, of the Tilon (Titon) Okandanas band, for the heads of Saint Peter's river." On the 17th they had proceeded down the St. Peter's where on the 20th they met some Yanktonias Sioux who were returning from Saint Anthony Falls and had been met in advance by some Brule Sioux. "On the 27th, the bands mostly separated, and the greatest part returned to the Missouri, among whom was the Bois-bruil band, who took the war path."

We will again quote at large LeRaye's journal, showing his return to the Missouri river in South Dakota, his sojourn with the Rees during the succeeding winter (1803-4), his continued wanderings with the Sioux back over the James, the rumors of the coming of the Lewis and Clarke party, the declaration of war, and his final escape at the mouth of the James, as follows:

"On the 12th of July, (1803), encamped at the forks of the river Sasqui, a branch of the Missouri. On the 18th, these bands separated, and we proceeded to the crossing of the three rivers, on the Missouri, above the mouth of White river. On the 8th of August, we arrived at the Missouri, and a party of us went down to the Salt Springs, and made a quantity of salt. The water in the river Sasqui and in the Three rivers is so brackish, as to be very disagreeable to drink; and many other streams on on the Missouri have a similar taste. On the 20th, we returned to the encampment, and on the 28th I went with a party up the Middle Fork of the Three rivers to hunt. The country is considerably broken, and destitute of timber; but numerous salt licks and a plenty of game. On the 16th of September, we returned, having loaded our horses.

"We remained at this encampment until the 27th, when we moved up to Teton river. I obtained liberty on the 3rd of October, to go to the Rus village. Here I spent the winter with a number of traders belonging to Saint Louis. The Sioux are enemies to the traders, who follow this employment on the Missouri. They hold them in great contempt, and always rob them whenever they get a good opportunity.

"On the 12th of April, 1804, the traders left the village, and went up the river Chein, or Dog river, to trade. The chief, Man-da-tongue-qua, came to the village, on the 18th, and took me with him on to the Sioux river, where we arrived on the 6th of May, and continued until the 12th of June, when we removed to the river Sasqui. On the 26th of August, a report was spread among the Indians, that a party, an army, as they called it, of soldiers were coming up the Missouri. After dispatching messengers to all the Indians near, they hastened to the river, leaving all their women and children with a few men in the encampment. They did not permit me to go with them. On the 25th of September, a council was held on the river Sasqui, to deliberate on the object this army should have in view, and to determine what should be done."

War Declared. "Lengthy debates took place, and being much divided in the sentiment whether they should attack them, or not, they dissolved the council on the 29th, without deciding what should be done. Another council was held on the 5th of November, consisting of a much larger number, when they came to a determination to invite the Rus to join them, and to attack the soldiers early in the spring. They also agreed to declare war against the Mandans and Gros Ventres. During the winter, large bodies of Indians assembled on the Sioux river and the river Sasqui, near to the Missouri.

"In the meantime, war was declared against the soldiers and against the Mandans and Gros Ventres. Early in the spring the spies had sent out, reported that the soldiers had gone further up the river, so that on the 4th of April, 1805, our camp with the women and children, moved on to the Missouri. Immediately after I arrived here, I was so fortunate as to become acquainted with Mr. Paintille, a Frenchman, who had long resided in

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the country, principally with the Titon-anah band of Sioux. We concerted a plan for making an escape down the Missouri. As he had a light canoe, we prepared ourselves to leave the Indians, and accordingly, on the night of the 26th of April, we were so happy as to make our escape from these miserable beings. In ten days we arrived at the town of Saint John's, which is the upper settlement on the Missouri river, and from thence we proceeded to the lower settlements. Here I found myself in the full enjoyment of a freedom, of which I had long been deprived; having been a prisoner more than three years and six months. During this period I had been subjected to many severe sufferings. Although I had always been well treated by the Indians, I had undergone great fatigues, and was often much distressed for provisions. Frequent exposure to wet and cold, and the inclemency of weather, brought on a rheumatism, which became so severe, as to confine me eighteen months after I had obtained my liberty." (Pages 201 to 204.) 000

The document of LeRaye, showing his grand sweep from Canada through the Illinois country well towards the Gulf of Mexico west of the Mississippi, thence northward by many meanderings through the great region of the Missouri and its sources to the very edge of the Rocky mountains, thence back to Canada in the Winnepeg country, thence to near the sources of the Mississippi and back to the Missouri, up the valley again to the Ree villages, and back to the mouth of the "Jim," during nearly the whole of which period he was in the hands of the Indians and followed their capricious movements over practically one-third of the American continent and he being, so far as known, one of two white men who first saw the Flatheads and the Snakes, truly forms one of the most important records ever made relating to early explorations and actual contact with Indians anywhere in America, as it is certainly one of the most remarkable among all those pertaining to the northwest. 114

The journal richly merits publication as a whole and liberal dissemination among historical societies and students of history.

Lewis and Clarke Journals. The Lewis and Clarke journals come next in order of time, in developing the accounts of the first visitors to the Mandans, and will now be presented, wherein they touch that subject, commencing with the most southerly remains of Mandan village sites and continuing to embrace the

114 winter's sojourn among them in 1804-5, and taking up the brief journal entries made on the return trip in 1806. The observations relating to these Indians, found therein, also embrace references to other neighboring tribes with whom the Mandans were in contact at the time, and which later we also insert, as we believe nothing can so well assist in showing the precise status of the Mandans on the upper Missouri when first known to the whites as their daily experiences showing their relation to their Indian neighbors.

While the journals of Lewis and Clarke relating to the Mandans are of very great value and, in themselves, give us knowledge of such character and scope as to enable us, without other evidence, to understand quite clearly most of the leading phases of the life of that tribe, yet it is probably within bounds to observe that, considering the length of time during which that notable expedition was quartered at the Mandan villages and the rare opportunities presented for gaining a comprehensive insight into the then more recent history of the tribe, where it came from and how it came to be established within those strong entrenchments and barricades at that point or in that general locality on the great river, the results recorded in those journals are less satisfactory than could be wished, or reasonably expected. Why were not those who were most responsible in that expedition in handing down to the government and posterity the obtainable evidences of leading Indian communities en route, and who were camped among the Mandans for five and a half months, able to ascertain and note down more than they did regarding the history and experiences of those Indians during, say one hundred or one hundred and fifty years immediately preceding that period? It seems incredible that among the members of a tribe so singularly intelligent and having, as all accounts unite in proving they did, so many characteristics leading to the suggestion if not the probability of mixture of Caucasian blood, there did not exist individuals who had treasured up, as have almost every Indian tribe in America, ancestral and tribal traditions in the nature of credible history which, if made known to investigators, would have laid bare the Mandan tribal history for several centuries far more clearly than is done in those journals. And if such individuals were at hand to be interviewed and prodded with persistent inquiry if necessary, until the truth was revealed in their responses, it would seem that the influence of so notable and numerous a company as sat down among them during that winter might and should have evolved more than seems to have been learned by the members of that commission and recorded in those journals. Similar observations would seem to be warranted concerning the relative brevity and absence of more detailed and exhaustive information touching their ancient customs, religion, etc. However, observations such as are here indulged in must be regarded as largely speculative. Just how much the patriarchs and leading men of the Mandans had stored up along the lines indicated, and how much of what they did possess they were willing to impart to this the first formal delegation of whites who had ever visited them from the south, is matter of mystery, not of history. 114

The journal entry first to be reproduced here occurs under date of Friday, October 19th, 1804.

First Mandan Ruins. After seventeen and a half miles we encamped on the north, opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation. Our chief tells us that the calumet bird lives in the holes formed by the filteration of the water from the top of these hills through the sides. Near to one of these holes, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain, are the remains of an old village which is high, strong, and has been fortified; this our chief tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri; opposite to our camp is a deep bend to the south, at the extremity of which is a pond. (Page 153, Vol 1, Lewis and Clarke's journal Original Edition, London, 1815.)"[3] 361

Under the date-heading next following, the Lewis and Clarke Journal refers to a "creek on the north" which, according to Dr. Cones, is "Shepherd's Creek" of the Lewis and Clarke map and now known as Apple Creek; it is stated as being six miles below the southerly end of the island mentioned in said Journal. That creek is about seven or eight miles below Bismarck, N. D. The Journal continues:

"Saturday 20. At eight miles we reached the lower point of an island[1] in the middle of the river, though there is no current on

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 the south. This island is covered with willows and extends about two miles, there being a small creek[2] coming in from the south at its lower extremity. After making twelve miles we encamped on the south, at the upper part of a bluff containing stone-coal of an inferior quality; immediately below this bluff and on the declivity of a hill, are the remains of a village covering six or eight acres, formerly occupied by the Mandans, who, says our Ricara chief, once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river, till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher; whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position. (id 154)"

"Sunday, 21. * * * * * At two miles from our encampment we came to the ruins of a second Mandan village, which was in existence at the same time with that just mentioned. It is situated on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful and extensive plain, which is now covered with herds of buffalo; nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south of the Missouri; and there is another also about two miles further on the north, a little off the river.

"Monday, 22nd. In the morning we passed an old Mandan village on the south, near our camp; at four miles another on the same side. (id 155)"

"Monday, 22nd. * * * * At six we reached an island about one mile in length at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins, and two miles beyond a bad sandbar. At eight miles are the remains of another Mandan village on the south.

"These villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles; almost all that remains of them is the wall which surrounded them, the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses and occasionally human skulls and the teeth and bones of men, and different animals, which are scattered on the surface of the ground."(id 156)

000 **Mandan Chief.** "Wednesday, 24th. The day was again dark and it snowed a little in the morning. At three miles we came to a point on the south, where the river, by forcing a channel across a former bend, has formed a large island[a] on the north. On this island we found one of the grand chiefs of the Mandans, who with Five Lodges was on a hunting excursion. He met his enemy the Ricara chief, with great ceremony and apparent cordiality, and

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

smoked with him. After visiting his lodges, the grand chief and his brother came on board our boat for a short time; we then proceeded and encamped on the north, at seven miles from our last night's station and below the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras. Here four Mandans came down from a camp above, and our Ricara chief returned with them to their camp, from which we augur favorably of their pacific views towards each other. The land is low and beautiful, and covered with oak and cottonwood, but has been too recently hunted to afford much game. 000

"25th. The morning was cold and the wind gentle from the southeast; at three miles we passed a handsome high prairie on the south, and on an eminence about forty feet above the water, and extending back for several miles on a beautiful plain, was situated an old village of the Mandan nation, which has been deserted for many years. A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground are two old villages of the Ricaras, one on the top of hill, the other on the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated, at three or four miles from the Ricara villages, three old villages of the Mandans near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above. In the low ground the squaws raised their corn, and the timber of which there was a little near the villages, was supplied from the opposite side of the river, where it was and still is abundant. 361

"As we proceeded, several parties of Mandans both on foot and horseback came along the river to view us, and were very desirous that we should land and talk to them; this we could not do on account of the sandbreaks on the shore, but we sent out the Ricara chief to them in a perioque." (id 158.) 000

The Traders. "26th. We set out early with a southwest wind, and after putting the Ricara chief on shore to join the Mandans, who were in great numbers along it, we proceeded to the camp of the grand chiefs, four miles distant. Here we met Mr. M'Cracken, one of the Northwest or Hudson Bay company, who arrived with another person about nine days ago to trade for horses and buffalo robes. Two of the chiefs came on board with some of their household furniture, such as earthen pots and a little corn, and went on

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 with us; the rest of the Indians following on shore. At one mile beyond the camp we passed a small creek, and at three[4] more a bluff of coal of an inferior quality on the south. After making eleven miles we reached an old field where the Mandans had cultivated grain last summer, and encamped for the night on the south side, about half a mile below the first village of the Mandans. In the morning, we had a willow low ground on the south and highland on the north, which occasionally varied in the course of the day. There is but little wood on this part of the river, which is here subdivided into many channels and obstructed by sandbars. As soon as we arrived a crowd of men, women and children came down to see us.

304 765 **First Meeting of the Mandans.** "Captain Lewis returned with the principal chiefs to the village, while the others remained with us during the evening; the object which seemed to surprise them most was a corn-mill fixed to the boat which we had occasion to use, and delighted them by the ease which it reduced the grain to powder. Among others who visited us was the son of the grand chief of the Mandans, who had his two little fingers cut off at the second joints. On inquiring into this accident, we found that it was customary to express grief for the death of relations by some corporal suffering, and that the usual mode was to lose two joints of the little fingers, or sometimes the other fingers. The wind blew very cold in the evening from the southwest. Two of the party were afflicted with rheumatic complaints." (id 159)

576 **The Interpreter.** "Saturday, October 27th. At an early hour we proceeded and anchored off the village. Captain Clarke went on shore, and after smoking a pipe with the chiefs, was desired to remain and eat with them. He declined on account of his being unwell; but his refusal gave great offense to the Indians, who considered it disrespectful not to eat when invited, till the cause was 000 explained to their satisfaction. We sent them some tobacco, and then proceeded to the second village, on the north passing by a bank containing coal, and a second village, and encamped at four miles on the north, opposite to a village of Ahnahaways. We here met with a Frenchman, named Jesseaume, who lived among the Indians with his wife and children, and whom we take as an interpreter. The Indians had flocked to the bank to see us as we passed, and they visited in great numbers the camp, where some

of them remained all night. We sent in the evening three young Indians with a present of tobacco for the chiefs of the three upper villages, inviting them to come down in the morning to a council with us. 000

Minnetarees and Ahnahaways. "Accordingly, the next day, Sunday, October 28, we were joined by many of the Minnetarees and Ahnahaways from above but the wind was so violent from the southwest that the chiefs of the lower villages could not come up, and the council was deferred till tomorrow. In the meantime we entertained our visitors by showing them what was new to them in the boat; all which, as well as our black servant, they called Great Medicine, the meaning of which we afterwards learnt. We also consulted the grand chief of the Mandans, Black Cat and Mr. Jesseaume, as to the names, characters, etc., of the chiefs with whom we are to hold the council. In the course of the day we received several presents from the women, consisting of corn, boiled hominy, and garden stuffs; in our turn we gratified the wife of the great chief with a gift of a glazed earthen jar. Our hunter brought us two beavers. In the afternoon we sent the Minnetarees chiefs to smoke for us with the great chief of the Mandans, and told them we would speak in the morning. Finding that we shall be obliged to pass the winter at this place, we went up the river about one and a half mile to-day with a view of finding a convenient spot for a fort, but the timber was too scarce and small for our purposes.

First Indian Council. "Monday, October 29th. The morning was fine and we prepared our presents and speech for the council. After breakfast we were visited by an old chief of the Ahnahaways, who finding himself growing old and weak, had transferred his power to his son, who is now at war against the Shoshonees. At ten o'clock the chiefs were all assembled under an awning of our sails, stretched so as to exclude the wind which had become high. That the impression might be the more forceable, the men were all paraded, and the council opened by a discharge from the swivel of the boat. We then delivered a speech, which like those we had already made, intermingled advice with assurances of friendship and trade; while we were speaking the old Ahnahaway chief grew very restless, and observed that he could not wait so long, as his camp was exposed to the 622 648 hostilities of the Shoshonees. He was instantly rebuked with great dignity by one of the chiefs for this violation of decorum at such a moment, and remained quiet during the rest of the council. Towards the end of our speech we introduced the subject of our Ricara chief, with whom we recommended a firm peace. To this they seemed well disposed, and all smoked with him very amicably. We all mentioned the goods which had been taken from the Frenchman, and expressed a wish that they should be restored. This being over, we proceeded to distribute the presents with great ceremony. One chief of each town was acknowledged by a gift of a flag, a medal with the likeness of the president of the United States, a uniform coat, hat and feather; to the second chiefs we gave a medal representing some animals, and a loom for weaving; to the third chiefs, medals with the impressions of a farmer sowing grain. A variety of other presents were distributed but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than an iron corn-mill which we gave to the Mandans.

"The chiefs who were made today are: Shahaka or Big White, a first chief, and Kagohami or Little Raven, a second chief of the lower village of the Mandans, called Matootonha. The other chiefs of an inferior quality who were recommended were: 1. Ohheenaw, or Big Man, a Cheyenne taken prisoner by the Mandans who adopted him, and he now enjoys great consideration among the tribe. 2. Shotahawrora, or coal, of the second Mandan village, which is called Rooptahee. We made Poscopsahe, or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation; his second chief is Kagonomokshe, or raven man chief; inferior chiefs of this village were Tawnoheo and Bellahsara, of which we did not learn the translation." (id 161)

Big White. "Tuesday, 30. We were this morning visited by the two persons from the lower village, one the Big White, the chief of the village, the other the Cheyenne called the Big Man. They had been hunting, and did not return yesterday early enough to attend the council. At their request we repeated part of our speech of yesterday, and put the medal round the neck of the chief. Captain Clarke took a perioque and went up the river in search of a good wintering place, and returned after going seven miles to the lower point of an island on the north side,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

about one mile in length, he found the banks on the north side high with coal occasionally, and the country fine on all sides, but the want of wood and the scarcity of game up the river, induced us to decide on fixing ourselves lower down during the winter. In the evening our men danced among themselves to the great amusement of the Indians. 622 648

Mandan's Speech. "Wednesday, 31st. A second chief arrived this morning with an invitation from the grand chief of the Mandans, to come to his village where he wished to present some corn to us and speak with us. Captain Clarke walked down to his village. He was first seated with great ceremony on a robe by the side of the chief, who then threw over his shoulders another robe handsomely ornamented. The pipe was then smoked with several of the old men who were seated around the chief. After some time he began his discourse by observing that he believe what we had told him, and that they should soon enjoy peace, which would gratify him as well as his people, because they could then hunt without fear of being attacked, and the women might work in the fields without looking every moment for the enemy, and at night put off their moccasins, a phrase by which is conveyed the idea of security, when the women could undress at night without fear of attack. 622 648 537

"As to the Ricaras, he continued, in order to show you that we wish peace with all men, that chief, pointing to his second chief, will go with some warriors back to the Ricaras with their chief now here and smoke with that nation. When we heard of your coming, all the nations around returned from their hunting to see you, in hopes of receiving large presents. All were disappointed and some discontented. For his part he was not much so, though his village was. He added that he would go and see his great father, the president. Two of the steel traps stolen from the Frenchman were then laid before Captain Clarke, and the women brought about twelve bushels of corn. After the chief had finished, Captain Clarke made an answer to the speech and then he returned to the boat, where he found the chief of the third village and Kagohami (the Little Raven) who smoked and talked about half an hour. After they left the boat the grand chief of the Mandans came dressed in the clothes we had given him, with 622 648

622 648 his two children, and begged to see the men dance, in which they willingly gratified him."(id 168)

Peace With the Aricaras. "Thursday, November 1st. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the lower village arrived. They requested that we would call at their village for some corn; that they were willing to make peace with the Ricaras; that they had never provoked the war between them, but as the Ricaras killed some of their chiefs, they had retaliated on them; that they had killed them like birds, till they were tired of killing them, so that they would send a chief and some warriors to smoke with them. In the evening we dropped down to the lower village, where Captain Lewis went on shore, and Captain Clarke proceeded to a point of wood on the north side.

"Friday, November 2. He therefore went up to the village, where eleven bushels of corn were presented to him. In the meantime Captain Clarke went down with the boat three miles, and having found a good position where there was plenty of timber, encamped and began to fell trees to build our huts. Our Ricara chief set out with one Mandan chief and several Minnitarees and Mandan warriors; the wind was from the southeast, and the weather being fine, crowds of Indians came down to visit us." (id 169)

224 **Mandan Hunt.** "Monday, 5th. The Indians are all out on their hunting parties. A camp of Mandans caught within two days one hundred goats a short distance below us. Their mode of hunting them is to form a large strong pen or fold, from which a fence made of bushes gradually widens on each side. The animals are surrounded by the hunters and gently driven towards this pen, in which they imperceptibly find themselves inclosed, and are then at the mercy of the hunters." (id 170.)

231 "Thursday, 8. The morning again cloudy; our huts advanced very well, and we are visited by numbers of Indians who come to let their horses graze near us. In the day the horses are let loose in quest of grass, in the night they are collected and receive an armful of small boughs of the cottonwood, which being very juicy, soft and brittle, form nutritious and agreeable food." (id 171.)

000 **Northern Indians.** "Wednesday, 14th. The river rose last night half an inch, and is now filled with floating ice. This morning was

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cloudy with some snow. About seventy lodges of Assiniboines and some Knistenaux are at the Mandan village, and this being the day of adoption and exchange of property between them all, it is accompanied by a dance, which prevents our seeing more than two Indians today. These Knistenaux are a band of Chippeways whose language they speak. They live on the Assiniboine and Saskashawan rivers, and are about two hundred and forty men." (id 173) 000 437 597

Hostilities With Assiniboines and Knistenauxs. "Sunday, November 18. Today we had a cold windy morning. The Black Cat came to see us, and occupied us for a long time with questions on the usages of our country. He mentioned that a council had been held yesterday to deliberate on the state of their affairs. It seemed that not long ago, a party of Sioux fell in with some horses belonging to the Minnetarees, and carried them off; but in their flight they were met by some of the Assiniboines, who killed the Sioux and kept the horses. A Frenchman, too, who had lived many years among the Mandans, was lately killed on his route to the British factory on the Assiniboine. Some smaller differences existed between the two nations, all of which being discussed, the council decided that they would not resent the recent insults from the Assiniboines and Knistenaux, until they had seen whether we had deceived them or not in our promises of furnishing them with arms and ammunition. They had been disappointed in their hopes of receiving them from Mr. Evans, and were afraid that we too, like him, might tell them what was not true. We advised them to continue at peace, that supplies of every kind would no doubt arrive for them, but that time was necessary to organize the trade. The fact is, that the Assiniboines treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians. The consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (id 175.) 648 439

Fort Mandan. "Tuesday, 20th. We this day moved into our huts, which are now completed. This place, which we call Ft. Mandan, is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood. The works consist of two rows of huts or sheds, forming an angle 000

000 where they join each other. Each row contains four rooms, of fourteen feet square, and seven feet high, with plank ceiling, and the roof slanting so as to form a loft above the rooms, the highest part of which is eighteen feet from the ground. The backs of the huts form a wall of that height, and opposite the angle the place of the wall was supplied by picketing. In the area were two rooms for stores and provisions. The latitude by observation is 47 degrees, 21 minutes, 47 seconds, and the computed distance from the mouth of the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles." (id 176)

648 **Sioux Threats.** "In the course of the day several Indians came down to partake of our fresh meat; among the rest, three chiefs of the second Mandan village. They inform us that the Sioux on the Missouri above the Cheyenne river, threaten to attack them this winter; that these Sioux are much irritated at the Ricaras for having made peace through our means with the Mandans, and have lately ill-treated three Ricaras who carried the pipe of peace to them, by beating them and taking away their horses. We gave them assurances that we would protect them from all their enemies." (id 176)

361 167 **Mandan Villages and Tribe.** "The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations—the Mandans, the Ahnahaways and the Minnetarees. The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates, more than that of any other nation, the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village, and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricaras nation, where they formed themselves into two villages, and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two

who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united in one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as the Ricaras; the second, the same number, and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men. 361 167

Mahshas. "On the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha. It is situated on a high plain at the mouth of the Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways. This nation, whose name indicates that they were "people whose village is on a hill," formerly resided on the Missouri, about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboines and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greatest part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation, in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. They are called by the French, Soulier Noir or Shoe Indians; by the Mandans, Wattasoons, and their whole force is about fifty men. 000

Minnetarees "On the south side of the same Knife river, half a mile above the Mahaha, and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half mile above this village, is a second of the Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetarees' nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. The accounts which received of the Minnearees were contradictory. The Mandans say that this people came out of the water to the east, and settled near them in their former establishment, in nine villages; that they were very numerous, and fixed themselves in one village on the southern side of the Missouri. A quarrel about a buffalo divided the nation, of which two bands went into the plains, and were known by the names of the Crow and the Paunch Indians, and the rest moved to their establishment. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 live, and will never emigrate from the spot; the great spirit having declared that if they moved they would all die. They also say that the Minnatrees Metaharta, that is Minatrees of the Willows, whose language with very little variation is their own, came many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetarees proper. These Minnetarees are part of the great nation called Fall Indians,[5] who occupy the intermediate country between the Missouri and Saskaskawan, and who are known by the name of Minnetarees of the Missouri, and Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie; that is, residing near or rather frequenting the establishment in the prairie on the Saskaskawan. These Minnetarees indeed, told us that they had relations on the Saskaskawan, whom they had never known until they met them in war, having engaged in the night, were astonished at discovering that they were fighting with men who spoke their own language. The name of Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies is given to these Minnetarees, as well as to all the Fall Indians. The inhabitants from these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both; but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners, and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses." (id 177.)

Indian Corn. "November 22nd. The morning was fine, and the day warm. We purchased from the Mandans a quantity of corn of a mixed color, which they dug up in ears from holes made near the front of their lodges, in which it is buried during the winter." (id 182.)

"Tuesday, 27th, the weather cloudy, the wind continuing from the northwest and the river crowded with floating ice. Captain Lewis returned with two chiefs, Mahnotah and Ahnahaway, and Minnessurraree, a Minnetaree, and a third warrior; they explained to us that the reason of their not having come to see us, was, that the Mandans had told them that we meant to combine with the Sioux and cut them off in the course of the winter; a suspicion increased by the strength of the fort, and the circumstances of our interpreters having both removed there with their families. These reports we did not fail to disprove to their entire satisfaction, and amused them with every attention, particularly by the dancing of the men, which diverted them highly. All the Indians whom Captain Lewis had visited were very well disposed, and received him with great kindness, except a principal chief of one of the upper villages, named Mahpahpaparapassatoo, or Horned Weasel, who made use of the civilized indecorum of refusing to be seen, and when Captain Lewis called, he was told the chief was not at home. In the course of the day seven of the Northwest company's traders arrived from the Assiniboine river, and one of their interpreters having undertaken to circulate among the Indians unfavorable reports, it became necessary to warn them of the consequences, if they did not desist from such proceedings. The river fell two inches today and the weather became very cold." 000

No British Flag. "About eight o'clock Poscopsahe came down to visit us, with some warriors; we gave them presents and entertained them with all that might amuse their curiosity, and at parting we told them that we had heard of the British trader, Mr. Laroche, having attempted to distribute medals and flags among them; but that those emblems could not be received from any other than the American nation, without incurring the displeasures of the great father, the president. They left us much pleased with their treatment." (id 182.) 648

Sioux Raid. "Friday, 30th. About eight o'clock an Indian came to the opposite bank of the river, calling out that he had something important to communicate, and on sending for him, he told us that five Mandans had been met about eight leagues to the southwest by a party of Sioux, who had killed one of them, wounded two, and taken nine horses; that four of the Wattasoons were missing, and that the Mandans expected an attack. We thought this an excellent opportunity to discountenance the injurious reports against us, and to fix the waivering confidence of the nation. Captain Clarke therefore instantly crossed the river with twenty-three men strongly armed, and circling the town, approached it from behind. His unexpected appearance surprised and alarmed the chiefs, who came out to meet him, and 648 721

648
721

conducted him to the village. He then told them that having heard of the outrage just committed, he had come to assist his dutiful children; and that if they would assemble their warriors and those of the nation, he would lead them against the Sioux and avenge the blood of their countrymen. After some minutes' conversation, Ohenaw. the Cheyenne arose: 'We now see,' said he, 'that what you have told us is true, since as soon as our enemies threatened to attack us you come to protect us and are ready to chastise those who have spilled our blood. We did indeed listen to your good talk, for when you told us that the other nations were inclined to peace with us, we went out carelessly in small parties, and some have been killed by the Sioux and Ricaras. But I knew that the Ricaras were liars, and I told their chief who accompanied you, that his whole nation were liars and bad men; that we had several times made a peace with them, which they were the first to break; that whenever we pleased [illegible] might shoot them like buffalo, but that we had no wish to [illegible]em; that we would not suffer them to kill us, nor steal our h[illegible]; and that although we agree to make peace with them, because our two fathers desired it, yet we did not believe that they would be faithful long. Such, father, was my language to them in your presence, and you see that instead of listening to your good counsel they have spilt our blood. A few days ago, two Ricaras came here and told us that two of their villages were making moccasins, that the Sioux were stirring them up against us, and that we ought to take care of our horses; yet these very Ricaras we sent home as soon as the news reached us today, lest our people should kill them in the first moments of grief for their murdered relatives. Four of the Wattasoons whom we expected back in sixteen days have been absent twenty-four, and we fear have fallen. But, father, the snow is now deep, the weather cold, and our horses cannot travel through the plains; the murderers have gone off; if you will conduct us in the spring time, when the snow has disappeared, we will assemble all the surrounding warriors, and follow you.' "

Clarke Counsels Peace. "Captain Clarke replied, that we were always willing and able to defend them; that he was sorry that the snow prevented their marching to meet the Sioux. since he wished to show them that the warriors of their great father would chastise the enemies of his obedient children who opened their ears to his advise; that if some Ricaras had joined the Sioux, they should remember that there were some bad men in every nation, and that they should not be offended at the Ricaras till they saw whether these ill-disposed men were countenanced by the whole tribe; that the Sioux possessed great influence over the Ricaras, whom they supplied with military stores, and sometimes led them estray, because they were afraid to oppose them; but that this should be the less offensive, since the Mandans themselves were under the same apprehensions from the Assiniboines and Kristenaux, and that while they were thus dependent, both the Ricaras and Mandans ought to keep on terms with their powerful neighbors, whom they may afterwards set at defiance, when we shall supply them with arms, and take them under our protection. 648 721

"After two hours conversation Captain Clarke left the village. The chief repeatedly thanked him for the fatherly protection he had given them, observing that the whole village had been weeping all night and day for the brave young men who had been slain, but now they would wipe their eyes and weep no more as they saw that their father would protect them. He then crossed the river on the ice and returned on the north side of the fort." (id 184.)

Cheyenne Delegation. "Saturday, December 1st. The wind was from the northwest, and the whole party engaged in picketing the fort. About ten o'clock the half-brother of the man who had been killed, came to inform us that six Sharhas, or Cheyenne Indians, had arrived, bringing a pipe of peace, and that their nation was three days' march behind them. Three Pawnees had accompanied the Sharhas, and the Mandans being afraid of the Sharhas on account of their being at peace with the Sioux, wished to put both them and the three Pawnees to death; but the chiefs had forbidden it, as it would be contrary to our wishes. We gave him a present of tobacco, and although from his connection with the sufferer, he was more embittered against the Pawnees than any other Mandan, yet he seemed perfectly satisfied with our pacific counsels and advise. The Mandans we observed called all the Ricaras by the name of Pawnee; the name of Ricaras being that by which the nation distinguished itself." 648

"Sunday, December 2nd. At eleven o'clock, the chiefs of the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

648 lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

776 782 **Mandan Religion—Origin.** "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary traveled home on foot. 775 773 Their belief in a future state is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. Those who were left on earth made a village below, where we saw the nine villages; and when the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers; the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burdens of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross." (id 191.) 775 773

Buffalo Chase. "Friday, December 7th. The wind still continued from the northwest, and the day is very cold. Shahaka, the chief of the lower village, came to apprise us that the buffalo were near, and that his people were waiting for us to join them in the chase. Captain Clarke with fifteen men went out and found the Indians engaged in killing the buffalo, the hunters mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows encircled the herd, and gradually drive them into a plain or an open place fit for the movements of horse; they then ride in among them, and singling out a buffalo, a female being preferred, go as close as possible and wound her with arrows till they think they have given the mortal stroke; then they pursue another till the quiver is exhausted. If, which rarely happens, the wounded buffalo attacks the hunter, he evades his blow by the agility of his horse, which is trained for the combat with great dexterity. When they have killed the requisite number they collect their game, and the squaws and attendants come up from the rear and skin and dress the animals. Captain Clarke killed ten buffalo, of which only five were brought to the fort, the rest, which could not be conveyed home, being seized by the Indians, among whom the custom is, that whenever a buffalo is found dead without an arrow, or any particular mark, he is the property of the finder; so that often a hunter secures scarcely any of the game he kills, if the arrow happens to fall off; whatever is left out at night falls to the share of the wolves, who are the constant and numerous attendants of the buffalo." (id 193.) 224

Mandan Games. "Wednesday, 19th. The weather moderated, and the river rose a little, so that we were unable to continue the picketing of the fort. Notwithstanding the extreme cold, we 524

524 observe the Indians at the village engaged out in the open air, at a game which resembled billiards more than anything we had seen, and which we are inclined to suspect may have been acquired by ancient intercourse with the French of Canada. From the first to the second chief's lodge, a distance of about fifty yards, was covered with timber, smoothed and joined so as to be as level as the floor of one of our houses, with a battery at the end to stop the rings; these rings were of clay-stone, and flat like the chequers for drafts, and the sticks were about four feet long, with two short pieces at one end in the form of a mace, so fixed, that the whole will slide along the board. Two men fix themselves at one end, each provided with a stick, and one of them with a ring; they then run along the board, and about half way slide the sticks after the ring." (id 196.)

437 "Saturday, 22nd. A number of squaws and men dressed like squaws brought corn to trade for small articles with the men. Among other things we procured two horns of the animal called by the French, the Rock mountain sheep, and known to the Mandans by the name of ahsahta. The animal itself is about the size of a small elk or large deer; the horn winding like those of a ram, which they resemble also in texture, though larger and thicker."

Mandan Food. "Sunday, 23rd. The weather was fine and warm like that of yesterday. We were again visited by crowds of Indians of all descriptions, who came either to trade, or from mere curiosity. Among the rest Kogahami, the Little Raven, 252 brought his wife and son loaded with corn, and she then entertained us with a favorite Mandan dish, a mixture of pumpkins, beans, corn and chokecherries with the stones, all boiled together in a kettle, and forming a composition by no means unpalatable." (id 197.)

000 **Christmas.** "Tuesday, 25th. We were awakened before day by a discharge of three platoons from the party. We had told the Indians not to visit us, as it was one of our great medicine days; so that the men remained at home and amused themselves in various ways, particularly with dancing, in which they take great pleasure. The American flag was hoisted for the first time in the fort; the best provisions we had were brought out, and this, with a little brandy, enabled them to pass the day in great festivity." (id 198.)

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"Tuesday, January 1st, 1805. In the morning we permitted sixteen men with their music to go up to the first village, where they delighted the whole tribe with their dances, particularly with the movements of one of the Frenchmen who danced on his head. In return they presented the dancers with several buffalo robes and quantities of corn. We were desirous of showing this attention to the village, because they had received an impression that we had been wanting in regard for them, and because they had in consequence circulated invidious comparisons between us and the northern traders. All of these, however, they declared to Captain Clarke, who visited them in the course of the morning, were made in jest." (id 203.) 000

Buffalo Dance. "Saturday, 5th. We had high and boisterous winds last night and this morning; the Indians continue to purchase repairs with grain of different kinds. In the first village there has been a buffalo dance of the last three nights, which has put them all into commotion, and the description which we received from those of the party who visited the village, and from other sources, is not a little ludicrous. The buffalo dance is an institution originally intended for the benefit of the old men, and practiced at their suggestion. When buffalo becomes scarce, they send a man to harangue the village, declaring that the game is far off and that a feast is necessary to bring it back, and if the village be disposed, a day and a place is named for the celebration of it. At the appointed hour the old men arrive, and seat themselves cross-legged on skins around the fire in the middle of the lodge with a sort of doll or small image, dressed like a female, placed before them. The young men bring with them a platter of provisions, a pipe of tobacco, and their wives, whose dress on this occasion is only a robe or mantle loosely thrown around the body. On their arrival each youth selects the old man whom he means to distinguish by his favour, and spreads before him the provisions, after which he presents the pipe and smokes with him." (id 206.) 796

Hunt. "Sunday, 13th January, 1805. We have a continuation of clear weather, and the cold has increased, the mercury having sunk to 34 degrees below zero. Nearly one-half of the Mandan nation passed down the river to hunt for several days; in these excursions men, women and children, with their dogs, all leave 224

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 the village together, and after discovering a spot convenient for the game, fix their tents; all the family bear their part in the labor, and the game is equally divided among the families of the tribe. When a single hunter returns from the chase with more than is necessary for his own immediate consumption, the neighbors are entitled by custom to a share of it; they do not however ask for it, but send a squaw, who, without saying anything, sits down by the door of the lodge till the master understands the hint, and gives her gratuitously a part for her family." (id 209.)

000 "Monday, 14th. The Mandans continue to pass down the river on their hunting party, and were joined by six of our men. One of those sent on Thursday returned, with information that one of his companions had his feet so badly frost bitten that he could not walk home." (id 210.)

"Wednesday, 16th. About thirty Mandans, among whom six were chiefs, came to see us; the Minnetarees reproached them with their falsehoods, declaring that they were bad men and ought to hide themselves. They had told the Minnetarees that we would kill them if they came to the fort, yet on the contrary they had spent a night there, and been treated with kindness by the whites, who had smoked with them and danced for their amusement.

721 To the chief Kagahami, who contemplated war against the Snake Indians, this advice was given: "We advised him to reflect seriously before he committed the peace of his nation to the hazards of war; to look back on the numerous nations whom war has destroyed; that if he wished his nation to be happy, he should cultivate peace and intercourse with all his neighbors, by which means they would procure more horses, and increase in numbers; and that if he went to war, he would displease his great father, the president, and forfeit his protection. We added that we had spoken thus to all the tribes whom we had met, that they had all opened their ears, and that the president would compel those who did not voluntarily listen to his advise. Although a young man of only twenty-six years of age, this discourse seemed to strike him. He observed, that if it would be displeasing to us he would not go to war, since he had horses enough and that he would advise all nations to remain at home, until we had

seen the Snake Indians, and discovered whether their intentions were pacific." (id 212.) 721

"Friday, February 1st. A cold windy day; our hunters returned having killed only deer. One of the Minnetaree war chiefs, a young man named Maubuksheahokeah or Seeing Snake, came to us, and procured a war hatchet; he also requested that we would suffer him to go to war against the Sioux and Ricaras who had killed a Mandan some time ago; this we refused for reasons which we explained to him. He acknowledged that we were right, and promised to open his ears to our counsels." (id 215.)

Battle-Axe. "Tuesday, 5th. A pleasant fair morning with 411
the wind from the northwest; a number of the Indians came with corn for the blacksmith, who being now provided with coal, has become one of our greatest resources for procuring grain. They seem particularly attached to a battle-axe, of a very inconvenient figure; it is made wholly of iron, the blade extremely thin, and from seven to nine inches long. It is sharp at the point and five or six inches on each side, whence they converge towards the eye, which is circular and about an inch in diameter, the blade itself being not more than a inch wide, the handle is straight, and twelve to fifteen inches long; the whole weighing about a pound. By way of ornament, the blade is perforated with several circular holes. The length of the blade compared with the shortness of the handle, renders it a weapon of very little strength, particularly as it is always used on horseback; there is still, however, another form which is even worse, the same sort of handle being fixed to a blade resembling an espontoon."[6] (id 216.)

Sheet-Iron Arrow Points. "Wednesday, February 6th. The 437
morning was fair and pleasant, the wind northwest. A number of Indian chiefs visited us, and withdrew after we had smoked with them, contrary to their customs, for after being once introduced into our apartments, they are fond of lounging about during the remainder of the day. One of the men killed three antelopes. Our blacksmith has his time completely occupied, so great is the demand for utensils of different kinds. The Indians are particularly fond of sheet iron, out of which they form points for [411]
arrows and instruments for scraping hides, and when the blacksmith cut up an old cambouse[7] of that metal, we obtained for every piece of four inches square, seven or eight gallons of corn from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange."
(id 216)

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.)

262 **Buffalo Meat.** "Friday, 8th. A fair and pleasant morning, with southeast winds. Pocopsahe came down to the fort with a bow, and apologized for his not having finished a shield which he had promised to Captain Lewis, and which the weather had prevented him from completing. This chief possesses more firmness, intelligence and integrity, than any Indian of this country, and he might be rendered highly serviceable in our attempts to civilize the nation. He mentioned that the Mandans are very much in want of meat, and that he himself had not tasted any for several days. To this distress they are often reduced by their own improvidence, or by their unhappy situation. Their principal article of food is buffalo meat, their corn, beans, and other grain being reserved for summer, or as a last resource against what they constantly dread, an attack from the Sioux, who drive off the game and confine them to their villages. The same fear too prevents their going out to hunt in small parties to relieve their occasional wants, so that the buffalo is generally obtained in large quantities, and wasted by carelessness." (id 217.)

231 **Mandan Horses.** "Tuesday, 12th. The morning is fair though cold, the mercury being 14 degrees below zero, the wind from the southeast. About four o'clock the horses were brought in much fatigued. On giving them meal bran moistened with water they would not eat it, but preferred the bark of the cottonwood, which as is already observed, forms their principal food during the winter. The horses of the Mandans are so often stolen by the Sioux, Ricaras and Assiniboines, that the invariable rule now is to put the horses every night in the same lodge with the family. In the summer they ramble in the plains in the vicinity of the camp, and feed on the grass, but during cold weather the squaws cut down the cottonwood trees as they are wanted, and the horses feed on the boughs and bark of the tender branches, which are also brought into the lodges at night and placed near them. These animals are very severely treated; for whole days they are pursuing the buffalo, or burdened with the fruits of the chase, during which time scarcely ever taste food, and at night return to a scanty allowance of wood; yet the spirit of this valuable ani-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mal sustains him through all these difficulties, and he is rarely deficient either in flesh or vigor." (id 219.) 231

"Wednesday, 13th. The morning was cloudy, the thermometer at two degress below zero, the wind from the southeast. Captain Clarke returned last evening with all his hunting party; during their excursion they had killed forty deer, three buffalo and sixteen elk, but most of the game was too lean for use and the wolves, who regard whatever lies out at night as their own, had appropirated a large part of it. When he left the fort on the 4th instant he descended on the ice twenty-two miles to New Mandan island, near some of their old villages, and encamped, having killed nothing, and therefore without food for the night." (id 220.) 000

Raid On Meat. "Thursday, 14th. Last night the snow fell three inches deep; the day was, however, fine. Four men were despatched with sleds and three horses to bring up the meat which had been collected by the hunters. They returned however, with intelligence that about twenty-one miles below the fort a party of upwards of one hundred men, whom they supposed to be Sioux, rushed on them, cut the traces of the sleds, and carried off two of the horses, the third being given up by intercession of an Indian who seemed to possess some authority over them; they also took away two of the men's knives, and a tomahawk, which last however they returned. We sent up to the Mandans to inform them of it, and to know whether any of them would join a party which intended to pursue the robbers in the morning. About twelve o'clock two of their chiefs came down and said that all their young men were out hunting, and that there were few guns in the village. Several Indians however, armed some with bows and arrows, some with spears and battleaxes and two with fusils, accompanied Captain Lewis, who set out,

"Friday, 15th, at sunrise with twenty-four men. The morning was fine and cool, the thermometer being at 16 below zero. In the course of the day one of the Mandan chiefs returned from Captain Lewis' party, his eyesight having become so bad that he could not proceed. At this season of the year the reflection from the ice and snow is so intense as to occasion almost total blindness. This complaint is very common, and the general remedy is

800 to sweat the part afflicted, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it. A large red fox was killed today." (id 222.)

"Sunday, 17th. The weather continued as yesterday, though in the afternoon it became fair. Shotawoorora and his son came to see us, with about thirty pounds of dried buffalo meat and some tallow." (id 223.)

145
763
Dying Mandan—Ceremonial. "Wednesday, 20th. The day was delightfully fine, the mercury being at sunrise two degrees, and in the course of the day twenty-two degrees above zero, the wind southerly. Kagohomi came down to see us early; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him to a hill and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old village, that he might go straight to his brother who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground. We have seen a number of Mandans who have lived to a great age; chiefly however the men, whose robust exercises fortify the body, while the laborious occupations of the women shorten their existence."

778
787
Medicine Stone. "Thursday, 21st. We had a continuance of the same pleasant weather. Oheenaw Shahaka came down to see us, and mentioned that several of their countrymen had gone to consult their medicine stone as to the prospects of the following year. The medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick porous stone twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after this they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which, it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep; and in the morning they read the destines of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who make them are at no loss to decipher. The Minnetarees have a stone of a similar kind, which has the same qualities,

and the same influence over the nation. Captain Lewis returned 778
from his excursion in pursuit of the Indians. On reaching the 787
place where the Sioux had stolen our horses, they found only one sled, and several pair of moccasins which were recognized to be those of the Sioux. The party then followed the Indian tracks till they reached two old lodges, where they slept, and the next morning pursued the course of the river, till they reached some Indian camps, where Captain Clarke passed the night some time ago, and which the Sioux had now set on fire, leaving a little corn near the place, in order to induce a belief that they were Ricaras. From this point the Sioux tracks left the river abruptly and crossed into the plains, but perceiving that there was no chance of overtaking them, Captain Lewis went down to the pen where Captain Clarke had left some meat, which he found untouched by the Indians, and then hunted in the low grounds on the river, till he returned with about three hundred pounds of meat, some drawn in a sled by fifteen of the men, and the rest on horseback; having killed thirty-six deer, fourteen elk and one wolf." (id 223.)

"Friday, 22nd. The morning was cloudy and a little snow 000
fell, but in the afternoon the weather became fair. We were visited by a number of Indians, among them was Shotawhorora, a chief of much consideration among the Mandans although by birth a Ricara." (id 225.)

"Monday 25th. We were occupied in drawing up the boats on the bank. The smallest one we carried there with no difficulty, but the barge was too heavy for our elk-skin ropes, which constantly broke. We were visited by Orupsebara or Black Moccasin, and several other chiefs, who brought us presents of meat on the backs of their squaws, and one of the Minnetarees requested and obtained permission for himself and his two wives to remain all night in the fort. The day was exceedingly pleasant. (id 226.)

"Tuesday, 26th. The weather is again fine. By great labor during the day, we got all the boats on the bank by sunset, an operation which attracted a great number of Indians to the fort." (id 226.)

Report from Aricaras. "Thursday, 28th. **Mr. Gravelines with two Frenchmen and two Indians, arrived from the Ricara nation, with letters from Mr. Anthony Tabeau. This last gentleman informed us, that the Ricaras express their determination to follow our advice, and to remain at peace with the Mandans and Minnetarees, whom they are desirous of visiting; they also wish to know whether these nations would permit the Ricaras to settle near them, and form a league against their common enemies, the Sioux. On mentioning this to the Mandans, they agree to it, observing that they always desired to cultivate friendship with the Ricaras, and that the Ahanhaways and Minnetarees have the same friendly views." (id 227.)

Rumored Sioux Attack Aricaras. "Mr. Gravelines states that the band of Tetons whom he had seen was well disposed to us, owing to the influence of their chief, the Black Buffalo; but that the three upper bands of Tetons, with the Sisatoons and Yanktons of the north, mean soon to attack the Indians in this quarter, with a resolution to put to death every white man they encounter. Moreover, that Mr. Cameron, of St. Peter's, has armed the Sioux against the Chippeways, who, have lately put to death three of his men. The men who had stolen our horses we found to be all Sioux, who after committing the outrage, went to the Ricara villages, where they said that they had hesitated about killing our men who were with the horses, but that in the future they would put to death any of us they could, as we were bad medicines and deserved to be killed. The Ricaras were displeased at their conduct, and refused to give them any thing to eat, which is deemed the greatest act of hostility short of actual violence." (id 228.)

"Saturday, 2nd. Mr. Laroche, one of the N. W. Company's traders, has just arrived with merchandise from the British establishments on the Assiniboine. The day is fine, and the river begins to break up in some places, the mercury being between twenty-eight and thirty-six degrees below zero, and the wind from the northeast. We were visited by several Indians." (id 228.)

"Sunday, 3rd. We are visited by Poscapsahe and several other Indians with corn. A flock of ducks up the river today."

"Monday, 4th.**We had again some Indian visitors with a small present of meat. The Assiniboines, who a few days since visited the Mandans, returned and attempted to take horses from the

Minnetarees, who fired on them; a circumstance which may occasion some disturbance between the two nations." (id 229.) 000

Letter to Aricaras. "Tuesday, 5th. About four o'clock in the morning there was a slight fall of snow, but the day became clear and pleasant, with the mercury forty degrees above zero. We sent down an Indian and a Frenchman to the Ricara village with a letter to Mr. Tabeau." (id 229.)

Prairie Fires. "Wednesday, 6th. The day was cloudy and smoky in consequence of the burning of the plains by the Minnetarees; they have set all the neighboring country on fire in order to obtain an early crop of grass, which may answer for the consumption of their horses, and also as an inducement for the buffalo and other game to visit it. The horses stolen two days ago by the Assiniboines have been returned to the Minnetarees. Ohhaw, second chief of the lower Minnetaree village came to see us. The river rose and overran the ice, so as to render the crossing difficult." (id 230.)

LeBorgne. "Saturday, 9th. The morning cloudy and cool, the wind from the north. The grand chief of the Minnetarees, who is called by the French LeBorgne, from his having but one eye, came down for the first time to the fort. He was received with much attention, two guns were fired in honor of his arrival, the curiosities were exhibited to him, and, as he said that he had not received the presents which we had sent him on his arrival, we again gave him a flag, a medal, shirt, arm braces and the usual presents on such occasions, with all which he was much pleased. In the course of the conversation, the chief observed, that some foolish young men of his nation had told him that there was a person among us quite black, and he wished to know if it could be true. We assured him that it was true, and sent for York; the Borgne was very much surprised at his appearance, examining him closely, and spit on his finger and rubbed the skin in order to wash off the paint; nor was it until the negro uncovered his head, and showing his short hair that the Borgne could be persuaded that he was not a painted white man."

Mandan Justice. "Sunday, 10th. A cold windy day. Tetuckopinreha, chief of the Ahnahaway and the Minnetaree chief, Ompschara, passed the day with us, and the former remained during the night. We had occasion to see an instance of the 627 837

627 summary justice of the Indians. A young Minnetaree had carried off the daughter of Cagonomokshe, the Raven Man, second 837 chief of the upper village of the Mandans; the father went to the village and found his daughter, whom he brought home, and took with him a horse belonging to the offender. This reprisal satisfied the vengeance of the father and of the nation, as the young man would not dare to reclaim his horse, which from that time became the property of the injured party. The stealing of young women is one of the most common offenses against the police of the village, and the punishment of it always measured by the power or the passions of the kindred of the female. A voluntary elopement is of course more rigidly chastised. One of the wives of the Borgne deserted him in favor of a man who had been her lover before the marriage, and who after some time left her, and she was obliged to return to her father's house. As soon as he heard it the Borgne walked there and found her sitting near the fire. Without noticing his wife, he began to smoke with the father; when they were joined by the old men of the village, who, knowing his temper, had followed in hopes of appeasing him. He continued to smoke quietly with them, till rising to return, he took his wife by the hair, led her as far as the door, and with a single stroke of his tomahawk put her to death before her father's eyes. Then turning fiercely upon the spectators, he said that if any of her relations wished to avenge her, they might always find him at his lodge; but the fate of the woman had not sufficient interest to excite the vengeance of the family. The caprice or the generosity of the same chief gave a very different result to a similar incident which occurred some time afterwards. Another of his wives eloped with a young man, who not being able to support her as she wished, they both returned to the village, and she presented herself before the husband, supplicating his pardon for her conduct. The Borgne sent for the lover. At the moment when the youth expected that he would be put to death, the chief mildly asked them if they still preserved their affection for each other; and on their declaring that want, and not a change of affection had induced them to return, he gave up his wife to her lover, with the liberal present of three horses, and restored them both to his favor." (id 231.)

00∂ **Mandan Beads.** "Saturday, 16th. The weather is cloudy, the

000
301

wind from the southeast. A Mr. Garrow, a Frenchman, who has resided a long time among the Ricaras and Mandans, explained to us the mode in which they make their large beads, an art which they are said to have derived from some prisoners of the Snake Indian nation, and the knowledge of which is a secret, even now confined to a few among the Mandans and Ricaras. The process is as follows: Glass of different colors is first pounded fine and washed, till each kind, which is kept separate, ceases to stain the water thrown over it; some well seasoned clay, mixed with a sufficient quantity of sand to prevent its becoming very hard when exposed to heat, and reduced by water to the consistency of dough, is then rolled on the palm of the hand, till it becomes of the thickness wanted for the hole in the bead; these ticks of clay are placed upright, each on a little pedestal or ball of the same material, about an ounce in weight, and distributed over a small earthen platter, which is laid on the fire for a few minutes, when they are taken off to cool; with a little paddle or shovel, three or four inches long and sharpened at the end of the handle, the wet pounded glass is placed in the palm of the hand; the beads are made of an oblong form, wrapped in a cylindrical form round the stick of clay, which is laid cross-wise over it, and gently rolled backwards and forwards till it becomes perfectly smooth. If it be desired to introduce any other color, the surface of the bead is perforated with the pointed end of the paddle, and the cavity filled with pounded glass of that color; the sticks with the string of beads are then replaced on their pedestals, and the platter deposited on burning coals or hot embers; over the platter an earthen pot, containing about three gallons, with a mouth large enough to cover the platter, is reversed, being completely closed, except a small aperture at the top, through which are watched the beads; a quantity of old dried wood, formed into a sort of dough or paste, is placed around the pot, so as almost to cover it, and afterwards set on fire. The manufacturer then looks through the small hole in the pot, till he sees the beads assume a deep red color, to which succeeds a paler or whitish red, or they become pointed at the upper extremity; on which the fire is removed, and the pot suffered to cool gradually; at length it is removed, the beads taken out, the clay in the hollow of them picked out with an awl or needle, and it is then fit for use. The

301 beads thus formed are in great demand among the Indians, and used as pendants to their ears and hair, and are sometimes worn 'round the neck." (id 233.)

224 **Killing Buffalo On Ice.** "Friday, 29th. The weather clear, and the wind from the northwest. The obstruction above gave way this morning, and the ice came down in great quantities; the river having fallen eleven inches in the course of the last twenty-four hours. We have had few Indians at the fort for the last three or four days, as they are now busy in catching the floating buffalo. Every spring as the river is breaking up, the surrounding plains are set on fire, and the buffalo tempted to cross the river in search of the fresh grass which immediately succeeds to the burning; on their way they are often isolated on a large cake or mass of ice, which floats down the river. The Indians now select the most favorable points for attack; and, as the buffalo approaches, dart with astonishing agility across the trembling ice, sometimes pressing lightly a cake of not more than two feet square; the animal is of course unsteady, and his footsteps insecure on this new element, so that he can make but little resistance, and the hunter, who has given him his death wound, paddles his icy boat to the shore, and secures his prey." (id 239.)

532 **Indian Painting.** "Thursday, 4th. The day is clear and pleasant, though the wind is high from northwest. We now packed in different boxes a variety of articles for the president, which we shall send in the barge. A number of articles of Indian dress, among which was a buffalo robe, representing a battle fought about eight years since between the Sioux and Ricaras against the Mandans and Minnetarees, in which the combatants are represented on horseback. It has of late years excited much discussion to ascertain the period when the art of painting was first discovered, how hopeless all researches of this kind are, is evident from the foregoing fact. It is indebted for its origin to one of the strongest passions of the human heart; a wish to preserve the features of a departed friend, or the memory of some glorious exploit; this inherits equally the bosoms of all men, either civilized or savage. Such sketches, rude and imperfect as they are, delineate the predominant character of the savage nations. If they are peaceable and inoffensive, the drawings usually consist of local scenery and their favorite diversions. If the band are rude

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and ferocious, we observe tomahawks, scalping-knives, bows, arrows, and all the engines of destruction. A Mandan bow and quiver of arrows; also some Ricara tobacco seed, and an ear of Mandan corn. To these are added a box of plants, another of insects, and three cases, containing a burrowing squirrel, a prairie hen, and four magpies, all alive." (id 240) 532

Aricaras Arrive—Expedition Leaves Ft. Mandan. "Saturday, 6th. Another fine day with a gentle breeze from the south. The Mandans continue to come to the fort, and in the course of the day inform us of the arrival of a party of Ricaras on the other side of the river. We send our interpreter to inquire into the reason for coming, and in the morning, Sunday 7th, he returned with a Ricara chief and three of his nation. The chief, whose name is Kagohweto, or Brave Raven, brought a letter from Mr. Tabeau, mentioning the wish of the grand chiefs of the Ricaras to visit the president, and requesting permission for himself and four men to join our boat when it descends, to which we consented, as it will then be manned with fifteen hands, and be able to defend itself against the Sioux. After presenting the letter, he told us that he was sent with ten warriors, by his nation, to arrange their settling near the Mandans and Minnetarees, whom they wished to join; that he considered all the neighboring nations friendly, except the Sioux, whose persecutions they could no longer withstand, and whom they hoped to repel by uniting with the tribes in his quarter. He added, that the Ricaras intended to follow our advice and live in peace with all nations, and requested that we would speak in their favor to the Assiniboine Indians. This we willingly promised to do, and assured them that their great father would protect them, and no longer suffer the Sioux to have good guns, or to injure his dutiful children. We then gave him a small medal, a certificate of his good conduct, and carrot of tobacco, and some wampum, with which he departed for the Mandan village, well satisfied with his reception. Having made all our arrangements, we left the fort about five o'clock in the afternoon." (id 243) 000

"Sunday, April 7th. One of the Mandans likewise embarked with us, in order to go to the Snake Indians, and obtain a peace with them for his countrymen." (id 243)

The Lewis and Clarke expedition, having gone on over the

000 mountains and to the Pacific coast on their memorable trip of exploration, and having recrossed the Continental Divide on the return trip in 1806, we find the first journal entry which in any way refers to the Mandans, under date of August 8th of that year, recorded in Vol. 3 of London Ed. of their journal, page 348, as follows:

501 **Skin Canoes.** "Friday, 8th. * * They passed over a broken open country, and having reached the Yellowstone, near Pompey's Pillar, they determined to descend the river and for this purpose made two skin canoes,[8] such as they had seen among the Mandans and Ricaras. They are made in the following manner: Two sticks of an inch and a quarter in diameter are tied together so as to form a round hoop, which serves for the brim, while a second hoop, for the bottom of the boat, is made in the same way, and both secured by sticks of the same size from the sides of the hoops, fastened by thongs to the edges of the hoops, and at the interstice of the sticks. Over this frame the skin is drawn closely and tied with thongs, so as to form a perfect basin, seven feet and three inches in diameter, sixteen inches deep, and with sixteen ribs or cross-sticks, and capable of carrying six or eight men with their loads." 'Vol. 3, p. 348)

721 **Mandans at War With Aricaras and Assiniboines.** "Monday, 11th. The next morning Captain Clarke set out early, and landed on a sandbar about ten o'clock, for the purpose of taking breakfast and drying the meat. At noon they proceeded on about two miles, when they observed a canoe near the shore. They immediately landed, and were equally surprised and pleased at discovering two men by the names of Dickson and Hancock, who had come from the Illinois on a hunting excursion up the Yellowstone. They had left the Illinois in the summer of 1804 and had spent the last winter with the Tetons, in company with a Mr. Ceautoin, who had come there as a trader, but whom they had robbed, or rather they had taken all his merchandise and given him a few robes in exchange. These men had met the boat which we had dispatched from Fort Mandan, on board of which they were told there was a Ricara chief on his way to Washington, and also another party of Yankton chiefs, accompanied by Mr. Durion on a visit of the same kind. We were sorry to learn that the Mandans and the Minnetarees were at war with the Ricaras, and had killed two of them.

The Assiniboines, too, are at war with the Mandans. They have 721 in consequence, prohibited the Northwestern Company from trading to the Missouri, and even killed two of their traders near the Mouse river, and are now lying in wait for Mr. M'Kenzie of the Northwestern Company, who had been for a long time among the Minnetarees. These appearances are rather unfavorable to the project of carrying some of the chiefs to the United States; but we still hope, that by effecting a peace between the Mandans, Minnetarees and Ricaras, the views of our government may be accomplished." (id 350)

"Thursday, 14th.[9] We again set out at sunrise, and at length 000 approached the grand village[10] of the Minnetarees, where the natives had collected to view us as we passed. We fired the blunderbuss several times by way of salute, and soon after landed at the bank near the village of the Mahahas, or Shoe Indians and were received by a crowd of people, who came to welcome our return."

Re-Arrival at Mandan Villages. "Among these were the principal chief of the Mahahas, and the chief of the Little Minnetaree village, both of whom expressed great pleasure at seeing us again, but the latter wept most bitterly. On inquiry, it appeared that his tears were excited, because the sight of us reminded him of his son who had been lately killed by the Blackfoot Indians. After remaining there a few minutes, we crossed to the Mandan village of the Black Cat, where all the inhabitants seemed very much pleased at seeing us. We immediately sent Chaboneau with an invitation for the Minnetarees to visit us, and dispatched Drewyer to the lower village of the Mandans to bring Jesseaume as an interpreter."

Black Cat. "Captain Clarke in the meantime walked up to the 648 village of the Black Cat, and smoked and ate with the chief. This village has been rebuilt since our departure, and was now much smaller; a quarrel having arisen among the Indians, in consequence of which a number of families had removed to the opposite side of the river. On the arrival of Jesseaume, Captain Clarke addressed the chiefs. We spoke to them now, he said, in the same language we had done before; and then repeated his invitation to accompany him to the United States, to hear in person the counsels of their great father, who can at all times protect those who open their ears to his counsels, and punish his enemies. The

648 Black Cat, in reply, declared that he wished to visit the United States, and see his great father, but was afraid of the Sioux, who had killed several of the Mandans since our departure, and who were now on the river below, and would intercept him if he attempted to go. Captain Clarke endeavored to quiet his apprehensions by assuring him that he would not suffer the Sioux to injure one of our red children who should accompany us, and that they should return loaded with presents, and protected at the expense of the United States. The council was then broken up, after which we crossed and formed our camp on the other side of the river, where we should be sheltered from the rain. Soon after the chief of the Mahahas informed us that if we would send to his village, we should have some corn. Three men were therefore dispatched, and soon after returned loaded with as much as they could carry, and were soon followed by the chief and his wife, to whom we presented a few needles and other articles fit for women. In a short time the Borgne (the great chief of all the Minnetarees) came down, attended by several other chiefs, to whom after smoking a pipe, Captain Clarke now made an harangue, renewing his assurances of friendship and the invitation to go with us to Washington. He was answered by the Borgne, who began by declaring that he much desired to visit his great father, but that the Sioux would certainly kill any of the Mandans who should attempt to go down the river. They were bad people and would not listen to any advice. When he saw us last, we had told him that we had made peace with all the nations below, yet the Sioux had since killed eight of his tribe, and stolen a number of their horses. The Ricaras too had stolen their horses, and in the contest his people had killed two of the Ricaras. Yet in spite of these dispositions, he had always had his ears open to our counsels, and had actually made a peace with the Cheyennes and the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. He concluded by saying that however disposed they were to visit the United States, the fear of the Sioux would prevent them from going with us.[11] The counsel was then finished, and soon afterwards an invitation was received from the Black Cat, who, on Captain Clarke's arrival at his village, presented him with a dozen bushels of corn, which he said was a large proportion of what his people owned, and after smoking a pipe, declared that his people were too apprehensive

of the Sioux to venture with us. Captain Clarke then spoke 648 to the chiefs and warriors of the village. He told them of his anxiety that some of them should see their great father, and hear his good words and receive his gifts, and requested them to fix on some confidential chief who might accompany us. To this they made the same objections as before, till at length a young man offered to go, and the warriors all assented to it. But the character of his man was known to be bad, and one of the party with Captain Clarke informed him that at that moment he had in his possession a knife which he had stolen. Captain Clarke therefore told the chief of this theft, and ordered the knife to be given up. This was done with a poor apology for having it in his possession, and Captain Clarke then reproached the chiefs for wishing to send such a fellow to see and hear so distinguished a person as their great father. They all hung down their heads for some time, till the Black Cat apologized by saying that the danger was such that they were afraid of sending any of their chiefs, as they considered his loss almost inevitable. Captain Clarke remained some time with them, smoking and relating various particulars of his journey, and then left them to visit the second chief of the Mandans (or the Blackcrow) who had expressed some disposition to accompany us. He seemed well inclined to the journey, but was unwilling to decide till he had called a council of his people, which he intended to do in the afternoon. On returning to the camp, he found the chief of the Mahahas, and also the chief of the Little Minnetaree village, who brought a present of corn on their mules, of which they possess several, and which they procure from the Crow Indians, who either buy or steal them on the frontiers of the Spanish settlements. A great number of the Indians visited us for the purpose of renewing their acquaintance, or of exchanging robes or other articles for the skins brought by the men." (id 354)

Mandan Wars. "In the evening Chaboneau, who has been 721 mingling with the Indians, and had learned what had taken place during their absence, informed us that as soon as we had left the Minnetarees, they sent out a war party against the Shoshonees, whom they attacked and routed, though in the engagement they lost two men, one of whom was the son of the chief of the Little Minnetaree village. Another war party had gone against

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

721 the Ricaras, two of whom they killed. A misunderstanding, too, had taken place between the Mandans and the Minnetarees, in consequence of a dispute about a woman, which had nearly occasioned a war, but at length a pipe was presented by the Minnetarees, and a reconciliation took place."

648 **Corn Abundant—Counseled Against Wars.** "Friday, 15th. 721 The Mandans had offered to give us some corn, and on sending this morning, we found a greater quantity collected for our use than all our canoes would contain. We therefore thanked the chief and took only six loads. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the different villages came down to smoke with us. We therefore took this opportunity of endeavoring to engage the Borgne in our interests by a present of the swivel, which is no longer serviceable, as it cannot be discharged from our largest perioque. It was now loaded, and the chiefs being formed in a circle around it, Captain Clarke addressed them with great ceremony. He said that he had listened with much attention to what had yesterday been declared by the Borgne, whom he believed to be sincere, and then reproached them with their disregard of our counsels, and their wars on the Shoshonees and Ricaras. Little Cherry, the old Minnetaree chief, answered that they had long stayed at home and listened to our advice, but at last went to war against the Sioux, because their horses had been stolen, and their companions killed, and in an expedition against those people, they had met the Ricaras, who were on their way to strike them, and a battle ensued. But in future, he said, they would attend to our words and live in peace. But Borgne added that his ears, too, would always be open to the words of his good father, and shut against bad counsel. Captain Clarke then presented to the Borgne the swivel, which we told him had announced the words of his great father to all the nations we had seen, and which, whenever it was fired, should recall those which we had delivered to him. The gun was then discharged, and the Borgne had it conveyed in great pomp to his village. The counsel then adjourned."

000 **Big White Taken Past.** "In the afternoon, Captain Clarke walked up to the village of the Littlecrow, taking a flag, which he intended to present to him, but was surprised on being told by him that he had given over all intentions of accompanying us, and refused the flag. He found that this was occasioned by a

000

jealously between him and the principal chief, Big White. On the interference, however, of Jesseaume, the two chiefs were reconciled, and it was agreed that the Big White himself should accompany us with his wife and son." (id 359.)

Final Leavetaking. "Saturday, 16th. The whole village crowded about us, and many of the people wept aloud at the departure of the chief. As Captain Clarke was shaking hands with the principal chiefs of all the villages, they requested that he would set with them one moment longer. Being willing to gratify them, he stopped and ordered a pipe, after smoking which they informed him that when they first saw us, they did not believe all that we then told them, but having now seen that our words were all true they would carefully remember them and follow our advice; that he might tell their great father that the young men should remain at home, and not make war on any people except in defense of themselves. They requested him to tell the Ricaras to come and visit them without fear, as they meant that nation no harm, but were desirous of peace with them. On the Sioux, however, they had no dependence, and must kill them whenever they made war parties against their country. Captain Clarke, in reply, informed them that we had never insisted on their not defending themselves, but requested only that they would not strike those whom we had taken by the hand; that we would apprise the Ricaras of their friendly intentions, and that, although we had not seen those of the Sioux with whom they were at war, we should relate their conduct to their great father, who would take measures for producing a general peace among all his red children.

"The Borgne now requested that we would take good care of this chief, who would report whatever that their great father should say, and the council being then broken up, we took leave with a salute from a gun, and then proceeded. On reaching Fort Mandan, we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one had been burnt by an accidental fire. At the distance of eighteen miles we reached the old Ricara village, where we encamped on the southwest side, the wind being too violent, and the waves too high to permit us to go any further." (id 362)

"Monday, 18th. Soon after we embarked, an Indian came run-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 ning down to the beach, who appeared very anxious to speak to us. We went ashore, and found it was the brother of the Big White, who was encamped at no great distance, and hearing of our departure, came to take leave of the chief.

"The Big White gave him a pair of leggins, and they separated in a most affectionate manner, and we then continued, though the wind and waves were still high. The Indian chief seemed quite satisfied with his treatment, and during the whole of his time was employed in pointing out the ancient monuments of the Mandans, or in relating their traditions. At length, after making forty miles, we encamped on the northeast side, opposite an old Mandan village, and below the mouth of Chesshetah river."[12] (id 364)

"Here follow some entries showing events on the return trip of Lewis & Clarke at and near the Aricara villages and which are found in Part I of this paper in Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Call. pp. 400-1.

648 **At the Aricaras Villages the Mandan Chief Thus Addressed the Rees.** "The Big White, chief of the Mandans, now addressed them at some length, explaining the pacific intentions of his nation; and the Cheyenne observed that both the Ricaras and Mandans seemed to be in fault; but at the end of the council, the Mandan chief treated with great civility, and the greatest harmony prevailed among them." * * *

765 "Captain Clarke returned to the boats where he found the chief of the lower village, who had cut off part of his hair and disfigured himself in such a manner that we did not recognize him at first, until he explained that he was in mourning for his nephew, who had been killed by the Sioux. He proceeded with us to the
648 village on the island, where we were met by all the inhabitants. The second chief, on seeing the Mandan, began to speak to him in a loud and threatening tone, till Captain Clarke declared that the Mandans had listened to our counsels, and that if any injury was done to the chief, we should defend him against every nation. He then invited the Mandans to his lodge, and after a very ceremonious smoking, assured Captain Clarke that the Mandan was as safe as at home, for the Ricaras had opened their ears to our counsels as well as the Mandans. This was repeated by the great chief, and the Mandan and Ricara chiefs now smoked and con-

versed and great apparent harmony; after which we returned to the boats." (id 370) 648

"Friday, 22nd. While here we had occasion to notice that the Mandans, as well as the Minnetarees and Ricaras, kept their horses in the same lodges with themselves." (id 372)

Patrick Gass' observations on the Mandans, taken from his journal made while a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, will now be presented. Gass was a redoubtable Irishman of sound sense and keen observation. While much of what he records is largely a duplication of the Lewis and Clarke entries in substance, yet it will be found upon comparison of the two records that considerable additional information is contained in his journal. Some of his descriptions of Indians, situations and circumstances surrounding the sojourn with the Mandans and at Fort Mandan are striking, and constitute a substantial addition to the main journals. The original edition, published by Ells, Claflin & Co., Dayton (Ohio), in 1847, is here referred to. 114

Journal of Patrick Gass—Lewis and Clarke Expedition. (p. 56, et seq.) 000

"Wednesday, 24th, (October 1804). At twelve we came to a hunting party of the Mandan nation of Indians, and remained with them until 2 and then continued our voyage. There were three lodges of these Indians on an island, which has been cut off the Grand Bend, a short distance below the Mandan village. We encamped on the north side. Five of the Indians came to us, and our Indian went over with them and returned in the morning.

"Thursday, 25th. Passed a beautiful bottom on the south side, and hills on the north. A great many of the natives, some on horseback and some on foot appeared on the hills on the north side, hallooing and singing. At 2, we stopped for dinner, and as we could not get our boat to shore on the north side, the water being shallow, our Indian was sent over to them. In the afternoon we passed a bottom covered with timber on the north side and hills on the south, and encamped on the north side. Here our Indian returned accompanied by one of the Mandans.

"Friday, 26th. Passed a large willow bottom on the south and high land on the north side. The Mandan Indian left us early in the morning. At 10, we came to a hunting party of the Mandans,

1:DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 consisting of men, women and children. There was an Irishman with them, who had come from the Northwest Company of traders. We remained here an hour, and then proceeded. A number of the Indians kept along the shore opposite the boat all day, on the south side, on which side we encamped. Some of them remained with us to 12 at night and then returned to their village.

Mandan Village. "Saturday, 27th. At half past seven we arrived at the first village of the Mandans and halted about two hours. This village contains forty or fifty lodges built in the manner of those of the Rickarees. These Indians have better complexions than most other Indians, and some of the children have fair hair. We passed a bluff on the south side with a stratum of black resembling coal. There is a bottom on the north side, where the second Mandan village is situated. We went about a mile above it and encamped on the same bottom, for the purpose of holding a council with the natives. This place is 1,610 miles from the mouth of the river du Bois, where we first embarked to proceed on the expedition. There are about the same number of lodges and people in this village as in the first. These people do not bury their dead, but place the body on a scaffold, wrapped in a buffalo robe, where it lies exposed.

361

"Sunday, 28th. The day was clear and we remained here, but could not sit in council, the wind blew so violent.

648 **Council.** "Monday, 29th. We had again a clear day and some of the principal men came from each village of the Mandans, from the Watasoons, Sioux, and one from the Gros Ventres, and all sat in council together. At 11 o'clock, when the council met, a shot was fired from our bow piece, and the commanding officers took the chiefs by the hand. Captain Lewis, though an interpreter, delivered a speech, gave a suit of clothes to each of the chiefs and some articles for their villages. He also sent a suit to the chief of the Gros Ventres. At three o'clock another gun was fired at the breaking up of the council, and they all appeared satisfied. Captain Lewis gave an iron mill to the Mandan nation to grind their corn, with which they were highly pleased.

"Tuesday, 30th. We remained here to know the answer of the Indians. At ten Captain Lewis, with a party of our people and an Indian or two, went about six miles up the river to view an island, in order to ascertain whether or not it would suit for winter quarters. At five p. m. they returned and were of opinion that it was not an eligible place. 648

"Wednesday, 31st. A pleasant morning. We remained here also today, the Indians having given no answer. At 12, Captain Clarke and some of the men went down to the village, and the chief gave nine or ten bushels of corn, and some buffalo robes.

"Thursday, 1st November, 1804. At three o'clock p. m. we returned down the river to look for a place where we could fix our winter quarters. At dark we had ascended nine miles, and came to a bottom covered with cottonwood where we encamped.

"Friday, 2nd. Captain Lewis, myself and some of the men went up to the first village of the Mandans, who gave us some corn. Captain Clarke and the rest of our party, having dropped half a mile lower down the river, began to clear a place for a camp and a fort. We pitched our tents and laid the foundation of one line of huts.

Fort Mandan. "Saturday, 3rd. A clear day. We continued building. The following is the manner in which our huts and forts were built. The huts were in two rows, containing four rooms each, and joined at one end forming an angle. When raised about seven feet high a floor of puncheons or split plank were laid, and covered with grass and clay, which made a warm loft. The upper part projected a foot over and the roofs were made shed-fashion, rising from the inner side and making the outer wall about eighteen feet high. The part not inclosed by the huts we intended to picket. In the angle formed by the two rows of huts we built two rooms for holding our provisions and stores. 000

"From the 20th to the 27th, we had fine pleasant weather, and on the evening of the latter finished the roofs of our huts. These were made of puncheons split out of cottonwood and then hewed. The cottonwood resembles the lombardy poplar, and is a light soft wood. The largest trees are in thickness about eighteen inches diameter.

The Sioux. "Thursday, 29th. Early in the morning of this day we saw an Indian on the opposite side of the river, and brought him over. He informed us that a few days ago eight of his nation were out hunting and were attacked by a party of the Sioux tribe, who killed one and wounded two more, and also carried off their horses. Captain Clarke and twenty-three men immediately set out with an intention of pursuing the murderers. They went up to the first village of the Mandans, but their warriors did not seem disposed to turn out. They suggested the coldness of the weather; that the Sioux were too far gone to be overtaken; and put off the expedition to the spring of the year. Captain Clarke and his party returned the same evening to the fort. We have been daily visited by the Indians since we came here. Our fort is called Fort Mandan, and by observation is in N. latitude 47.21 33.8.

"Saturday, 1st, December 1804. The day was pleasant, and we began to cut and carry pickets to complete our fort. One of the traders from the Northwest Company came to the fort and related that the Indians had been troublesome in his way through. An Indian came down from the first Mandan village, and told us that a great number of the Chien or Dog nation had arrived near the village.

Cheyennes Arrive. "Sunday, 2nd. A party of the Chien Indians with some of the Mandans came to the fort. They appeared civil and good natured.

"The 3rd, 4th, and 5th, were moderate and we carried on the work, but the sixth was so cold and stormy we could do nothing. In the night the river froze over and in the morning was covered with solid ice an inch and a half thick.

Buffalo. "Friday, 7th. At 9 o'clock the Big White head chief of the first village of the Mandans came to our garrison and told us that the buffalo were in the prairie coming into the bottom. Captain Lewis and eleven more of us went out immediately and saw the prairie covered with buffalo and the Indians on horseback killing them. * * * They shoot them with bows and arrows, and have their horses so trained that they will advance very near and suddenly wheel and fly off in case the wounded buffalo attempt an attack.

"Saturday, 15th. Some of the natives paid us a visit and brought presents of meat to the commanding officers.

British Traders. "Sunday, 16th. I went up with some of the men to the first and second village of the Mandans and we were treated with much kindness. Three of the traders from the Northwest company came to our fort and brought a letter to our commanding officers. They remained with us all night. 000 The object of the visits we received from the Northwest Company was to ascertain our motives for visiting that country and to gain information with respect to the change of government.

"Monday, 17th. A sled was fitted up for one of the northwest traders to return in. In the evening one of the natives came down and told us the buffaloes were again come to the river.

"Saturday, 22nd. The weather continued clear, pleasant and warm. A great number of the natives came with corn, beans and moccasins to trade for which they would take anything—old shirts, buttons, awls, knives and the like articles.

"Monday, 24th. Some snow fell this morning. About ten it cleared up and the weather became pleasant. This evening we finished our fortification. Flour, dried apples, pepper and other articles were distributed in the different messes to enable them to celebrate Christmas in a proper and social manner.

Christmas. "Tuesday, 25th. The morning was ushered in by two discharges of a swivel and a round of small arms by the whole corps. Captain Clarke then presented to each man a glass of brandy, and we hoisted the American flag in the garrison, and its first waiving in Fort Mandan was celebrated with another glass. The men then cleared out one of the rooms and commenced dancing. At ten o'clock we had another glass of brandy and at one a gun was fired as a signal for dinner. At half past two another gun was fired as a notice to assemble at the dance, which was continued in a jovial manner till eight at night, and without the presence of any females, except three squaws, wives to our interpreter, who took no other part than the amusement of looking on. None of the natives came to the garrison this day, the commanding officers having requested they should not, which was strictly attended to. During the remainder of the month we lived in peace and tranquility in the garrison and were daily visited by the natives. (p. 65.)

"Tuesday, January 1st, 1805. About eleven o'clock one of the interpreters and half of the people went up, at the request of the natives to the village to begin the dance, and were followed some time after by Captain Clarke and three more men. The day was warm and pleasant. Captain Lewis in the afternoon issued

000 another glass of whiskey and at night Captain Clarke and part of the men returned from the village, the rest remained all night.

"Wednesday, 2nd. This day I discovered how the Indians keep their horses during the winter. In the day time they are permitted to run out and gather what they can, and at night are brought into the lodges, with the natives themselves, and fed upon cottonwood branches, and in this way are kept in tolerable ease. (p. 66.)

789 "Sunday, 20th. I went up with one of the men to the villages. They treated us friendly and gave us victuals. After we were done eating they presented a bowlful to a buffalo head, saying "**eat that.**" Their superstitious credulity is so great that they believe by using the head well the living buffalo will come and that they will get a supply of meat. (p. 68)

724 **Sioux Hostilities.** "Thursday, 28th. Sixteen of us went up the river about six miles, where we found and cut down trees for four canoes. While we were absent an express arrived from the Rickarees village with news that the Sioux had declared war against us, and also the Mandans and Gros Ventres. They had boasted of the robbery of the 14th, at the Rickarees village in their way home, and that they intended to massacre the whole of us in the spring. By this express we therefore found out that it was the Sioux who had taken the horses from our men. (p. 70)

000 "Saturday, 6th. The day was clear and pleasant. This day we heard that some of the Rickarees had come up to the Mandan villages. Our interpreter and some of the men were sent over to ascertain the truth of the report and we were detained all day waiting their return. (p. 72)

Ricara Delegation. "Sunday, 7th. The men returned and four of the Rickarees with them. The commanding officers held a conversation with these Indians and they concluded that some of them would go down in the boat from their village to St. Louis. About five o'clock in the afternoon we left Fort Mandan in good spirits. Thirty-one men and a woman went up the river and thirteen returned down it in the boat. We had two perioques and six canoes and proceeded about four miles and encamped opposite the first Mandan village on the north side.

Departure From Mandan Villages. "Monday, 8th. At 12 the word was passed from a canoe in the rear that it was sinking.

when we halted in front and Captain Clarke went back to see what was the matter. This forenoon we passed two villages of the Gros Ventres, or Big Belly's nation of Indians on the south side and a small river on the same side called Cutteau or Knife river." (p. 73.)

It is seen from the foregoing entry, that Gass estimated the distance up stream from Fort Mandan to a point opposite the lower Mandan village at "about four miles." All of what precedes, from Gass, pertains to the westward trip. We now quote from his journal some observations made on the return trip, on which, August 14th, 1806, the expedition reached the Mandan villages: * * * *

"Thursday, 14th, August, 1806. The morning of this day was pleasant, and we embarked early. In a short time we arrived near to our old friends, the Gros Ventres and Mandans; and fixed our encampment in a central position, so as to be most convenient to the different villages. The inhabitants of all the villages appeared very glad to see us, and sent us presents of corn, beans and squashes.

"Friday, 15th. We had a fine clear pleasant morning, and continued here all day, to ascertain whether any of the chiefs would go down with us or not. They had to hold councils among themselves, and we had to wait for their answers. The two hunters we left up the river came down, staid with us here, and got one of our party to join in partnership with them, and to return up the rivers Missouri and Jaune to hunt.

"Saturday, 16th. There was a fine cool day; and we yet remained here, waiting an answer from the natives. Some of these Indians are very kind and obliging; furnishing us with corn, beans and squashes; but there are others very troublesome, and steal whenever they have an opportunity. Yesterday and today they stole several knives and spoons, and three powder horns, and two pouches, filled with ammunition.

Big White. "In the afternoon the chief, called the Big White, concluded to go down with us, and we agreed to stay until 12 o'clock tomorrow; that he might have an opportunity to get ready for his voyage and mission. The commanding officers gave discharges to the man who agreed to return with the hunters up the river, and the interpreter; who intends settling among these dod Indians, and to whom they gave the blacksmith's tools supposing they might be useful to the nation. They also gave a small piece of ordnance to the Gros Ventres, which they appeared very fond of. (p. 229.)

"Sunday, 17th. The two strange hunters, with the man who had received his discharge and was to go up the river with them, went on early. We lashed our small canoes together, two and two, as we expect they will be more steady this way and carry larger loads. At noon we dropped down to the village of the Big White; and he, his wife and a child, with Geesem the interpreter for the Big White, his wife and two children, embarked in two of our canoes to go to the United States. We proceeded on at 2 o'clock; the wind was high, and river rough; and in the evening we encamped, having descended about twenty miles." (p. 230.)

Next in order of time is the journal of Alexander Henry. This was published by Francis P. Harper in 1897, under the editorial supervision of Dr. Elliot Cous, and is entitled "New Light on the History of the Northwest." From it we summarize the following:

Henry reached the Mandans from the Assiniboines July 19th, 1806, having passed Snake Hill at about the mouth of the Miry Creek, of Lewis and Clarke, and about six miles, by road, from Ft. Stevenson. He found the Mandans at a winter village two and a half miles below Miry Creek and close to the mouth of Wolf creek. It was really a village of the Gros Ventres and not of Mandans at all. At that date the river was so high that the huts appeared almost overflowed; he found large quantities of fruit growing in the vicinity; ripe pears, choke cherries, red cherries, raspberries and gooseberries and the prickly pear in large quantities. At four o'clock that afternoon he reached a point on the river opposite the upper Gros Ventres village situated on Knife river, a *mile back from the Missouri. After waiting some time, a party* of the natives came over and ferried him across, and he went down on the west side five miles to a Mandan village. The Gros Ventres village referred to on Knife river was the larger of two villages of that tribe, and the Mandan village was the second of Lewis and Clarke on their up river trip. Dr. Cous says it was about four miles by river above the site of Ft. Mandan. In going down the stream to this river Henry passed two villages,

000

which he describes as the Little Big Belly village and the Saulteur village, which were respectively, the third and fourth of the villages of Lewis and Clarke, and were called by them Metaharta, Mahawaha or Ahnahaways, or Wettersoons. Henry miscalls this latter village Saulteurs; they were really the Gens de Souliers, Their village was one mile north of the village of Black Cat and kept up a separate tribal organization until about 1836 and then became merged with the Gros Ventres The locality of both is the present site of Stanton, Mercer county, North Dakota. Before reaching the Mandan village on the west side, Henry passed through two miles of timber and came near being swamped in a miry road. Below the woods he found several patches of corn, beans, squashes and sunflowers, and notes a reason why the Mandans so frequently changed their village sites. The soil in the neighborhood of one of these villages becoming exhausted by cultivation, they move to a more fertile location. He notes that about these villages they buried their dead upon stages eight feet above the ground, and he found the bodies and the wrappings in all stages of decay. He found large numbers of women and children hoeing corn while a warrior, armed with a gun, stood by to guard them. The chief of the village, the Black Cat, came out to meet him and he was heartily welcomed by everyone. The Black Cat conducted him to a hut which he maintained for the accommodation of strangers while the old chief and his numerous family resided in a hut nearby. The people exhibited a great curiosity but did not meddle with the wares which he brought with him. The chief took his horses and turned them over to the care of a young man and in the hut Henry found buffalo hides spread on the ground before the fire and the women at once brought him a great feast of corn, beans and dried beef, the latter being so tainted that he could not eat it. He notes that the Mandans, however, do not care for beef until it commences to taste badly. Henry's visit was purely one of exploration and the Mandans were greatly disappointed when they discovered that he had not come to trade. When night came the young man brought the horses back from the pasture and put them in the hut with their guests. This was a precaution to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, but Henry says the practice gives the habitation an offensive smell to the nose of a stranger.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 He describes at length the custom of bathing in the Missouri in which both men and women engaged making use of a white clay as a substitute for soap. This is a regular process every evening and morning. He found both men and women absolutely devoid of all sense of modesty from the standpoint of civilization. Much of this portion of the journal is unquotable, as he describes in great detail the lascivious practices of the natives. As is usual among the natives, the labor is all performed by the women, the men, when not upon hunting or war-like expeditions, passing their time in sports and idleness.

He describes the wooden mortar set up in the corners of the huts in which they break up corn also the earthen pots of their own manufacture in which they cook it. These vessels range in size from a quart to five gallons. The Mandans declared that anything in the shape of flesh or grease cooked in these pottery vessels would instantly destroy them and every family was provided with a brass or iron kettle in which to cook flesh, but their vegetables are cooked in the vessels of clay, which having round bottoms, kept them constantly subject to being overturned. He found a Frenchman there, whom he calls Jean Baptiste, and who had come over the previous May from the Brandon House on the Mouse river to trade. He was located on the opposite side of the river from Black Cat's village but he came over to visit with Henry and when Black Cat learned who his guest was, he got out his American flag, which Lewis and Clarke had given him and hoisted it above the hut in which Henry slept. He noticed, lying in the village, the wreck of the corn mill which Lewis and Clarke had given them; the rascals had stripped it of all the iron parts they could use to make arrows from. Other portions were made into mauls to break up bones. He found a good deal of jealousy existing between the several villages, and they were particularly solicitous to secure arms and ammunition which, of course, was good policy, as it was a good protection against their enemies, the Sioux and the Rees. The village at which Henry was visiting was Rooptahee of Lewis and Clarke and the village across the river where the Frenchman was trading was their Matootonaha, or "The Lower village of the Mandans."

Henry is understood by some, who have visited the Mandans, and by others, who have compared his observations concerning

000

them, with those of others similarly circumstanced, to have given a rather unfair account of some of the characteristics of these Indians. What he thought of them as pilferers, while acknowledging their honorable protection of property in the hands of a host while actually housed, is shown by what follows. He says he packed up his goods and gave them into the care of Black Cat and though the people are given to stealing anything that is left about out of doors, they are honorable about property particularly committed to them.

Determining to cross over to the other side of the river, Henry paid his reckoning to Black Cat, giving him sixty rounds of ammunition, four large knives, two awls, one fathom of tobacco, one steel, five flints, a dozen hawk bills, two wormers for guns, and a dozen brass rings. A party of eight young men came over from the other village and ferried them across. In getting the horses over, the young fellows fastened a cord to the lower jaw of the horse and taking the cord in his own teeth, swam the river, a full half mile wide, leading the horse after him. The boats in which Henry and his own party were crossed over, were the ordinary bull boats, consisting of a buffalo hide drawn over a frame of willows. One of the boats[15] is capable of carrying a surprisingly large load; Henry, Mr. Chaboillez, and a lusty Indian, together with two hundred pounds of baggage crossed in a single boat. To propel the boat they used a pole five feet long, split at one end to admit a piece of board two feet long and six inches wide which is lashed to the pole, forming a cross. Every stroke of the paddle turns the vessel almost entirely around, consequently the ferryman strikes on one side, then on the other, keeping his vessel rotating back and forth. Though every effort was made to get directly across the stream they drifted nearly a mile down before reaching the other bank. This was the village of the chief known as the Grand and upon invitation Henry went to his hut to lodge while the rest of the party went to the lodge of the Hairy Horn and they were shown every consideration there. This town seemed also to be the home of Big White, the man who later that year, went to Washington with Lewis and Clarke; he was much offended that Henry lodged with the Grand instead of going to his hut, but Henry made it all right with him by paying him for the accommodation which he did not use. He also found Rene Jaussume residing there. He had lived with the Mandans for more than fifteen years and that fall accompanied Lewis and Clarke to Washington as their interpreter for Big White.

While he was there, six Arickara came up from their villages on Grand river, South Dakota, to treat for peace, there having been some bad feeling between the two bands during the preceeding year, notwithstanding the peace treaties cemented by Lewis and Clarke before they left for the coast, during which unpleasantness five Mandans and two Rees had been killed. They were given a big feast and an agreement to be good was entered into. Henry relates that not many years before the Rees and Mandans had lived in friendship together about ninety miles further down the river but a misunderstanding had arisen between them and they had parted, the Rees going down the river to the mouth of Grand river and the Mandans had gone up stream until they had come upon the villages of the Gros Ventres who would not permit any one to build higher up the river than they were. The Mandans were then inclined to retire further down stream but the Gros Ventres rather insisted on their remaining near them, and as the latter were much the more powerful, the Mandans had deemed discretion the better part of valor and had accepted the invitation.

So it was that at this time they were living as very near neighbors, and none too neighborly.

The Mandans, at this time, had about nine hundred lodges. He notes that in the peace conference they, the Rees and Mandans, did not speak the same language but carried on the conference entirely by gestures and had no difficulty whatever in understanding each other.

That evening, a party of about a hundred buffalo hunters returned, each bearing a half a buffalo; they had been gone but twenty-four hours and had found buffalo in great abundance. They were compelled to hunt in large parties to protect themselves from prowling enemies and also to protect the buffalo and keep them from being scared away, as a large party could surround a herd and destroy all of the cattle without communicating fear to other herds. When a hunting expedition was contemplated, all the villages were notified, but the Mandan and Gros Ventres did not hunt together, but started off in different directions. When the party reached the village the meat was unloaded and carried into the huts of those who secured it. After it had been exposed there for some time, "the ladies of the household" went in and cut it up and shared it with those families who had not sent out hunters or who had been unsuccessful in securing meat. In some instances it happened that so many acquaintances dropped in to be helped that when the distribution was completed not a mouthful remained for the hunter, but the wife good naturedly went out to some hut where they had meat, secured her share and lugged it back home.

The old men and women who had no sons or particular friends to assist them, crept out on the prairie a mile or so to meet the hunters, each of whom cut off a piece of meat for them as they passed by.

He describes their cabins as being circular in form and from a distance looking like a lot of mole hills. They were placed irregularly and so close together that there was only a foot path between them, but they clustered around an open space in the middle of the village which is kept for a sort of public park. He found a constant movement among them from one village to another as some jealousy or unpleasantness grew up or some family dissolved its allegiance to one chief and took up with the protection of another.

He found the Mandans better and more extensive farmers than the Gros Ventres. One of the Mandan chief's huts he found to be ninety feet in diameter, and he describes in great detail the form and manner of construction of the hut and of the enclosed doorway or approach thereto. Of the interior arrangement of the hut he says:

"On entering the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment, always on the left hand and fronting the fire, leaving an open space on the right; this is to hold fire wood in winter. This partition is constructed of square planks about twelve feet high, well calked to keep off the fire; between this partition and the fire is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day, seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size, fastened together by threads of their own manufacture, passed through each stick about a foot apart. These mats are about ten feet long and four broad, the two ends for about two and one-third feet are raised slanting upon the ground, supported by a kind of sofa, over the mat is spread a kind of buffalo skin; some of these couches are raised a foot off of the ground. Upon this, a Mandan sits all day, receives his friends, smokes, and chats the time away with the greatest dignity. On the left side of the host, begins their range of beds; the master and his favorite wife always occupy the first bed, and his other wives each take a separate one in succession. Next to them comes the young people. All are constructed in the same manner and join each other lengthwise. At the bottom of the hut, fronting the master's seat, stands his medicine stage, which may be called his chief treasure, as it contains everything he values most. The article of most consequence is a pair of bulls heads, which seem to be a great manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There are also laid up or rather hung up, his arms, shields, ammunition, scalps, and everything else he most values. Next this stage stand the mortar and pestle fixed firmly in the ground. The rest of the hut from this to the door are vacant during the day, but at night is occupied by the horses. There still remains a large clear space in the center round about the fire for the use of the family. This is generally swept once a day. Fronting the porch, stands a stage eight feet high, twenty feet long and ten feet broad for the purpose of hanging up corn to dry in the fall and to dry meat. These stages have a tolerably good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry."

He found several children whose hair was perfectly gray, resembling aged people. Their hair was much softer and finer than that of other Indians. He found Gros Ventres with yellow hair, and was of the opinion that it could not have resulted from any connection with the whites as the man was more than forty years old and he states that it was not more than thirty years since the first whites visited the Mandans. Evidently, he had forgotten, or was ignorant of the explorations of the Verendreys sixty years earlier. The eyes of the Indians were not a jet black, but generally a dark brown. The men wore their hair in small "quaittes" hanging down their backs, and upon some it was of enormous length, trailing upon the ground. They always daub it with white and red earth but the women wore their hair short. 000

Their method of roasting their meat was unique. Cutting it in flat pieces, they suspended it by a cord from the roof over the fire and the cook, sitting near by, with a long stick, kept it constantly in motion, whirling about. When one side was done he turned it over and exposed the other to the heat. He found the tribe afflicted with whooping cough, from which many of the children were dying.

On the 21st of July, he with his party, set off for the upper villages and notes passing many plantations, where the women were at work cultivating the gardens with hoes made from the shoulder blades of buffalo, to which a crooked stick was fastened for a handle. He made a short visit at the Saulier village which contained forty huts.

Going up to the Gros Ventres, he found them to be a war-like people, in strong contrast to the pacific character of the Mandans. They were an inquisitive and forward people, crowding about Henry and his party and making all sorts of sport of them and they were particularly amused at the high sounding language the American captains had applied to themselves. They had hordes of rapacious dogs, making it dangerous to stir without a good stout cudgel to keep them off.

He found that the Gros Ventres had a belief that at first the world was entirely covered with water, inhabited by no living creature but a swan, which in some unaccountable way produced a crow, a wolf and a water hen. One day the crow dressed itself out very fine, having daubed herself with red and white earth, particularly her face which was painted in equal portions of these two colors; having thus made her person more agreeable, she visited the wolf and reminded him of their forlorn and pitable condition, surrounded as they were by water, adding how much happier they would be had they but a certain proportion of earth to obtain which she proposed to send the water hen to the bottom to fetch some up. This was accordingly done, and after some time, the water hen returned with a small quantity in her bill. The crow took the earth in her hand, then directed the wolf to sing a certain song; while he was performing with melodious voice and graceful manner, beating time, the crow sprinkled the earth around her and instantly the globe was formed and it remains the same to this day. In this state they lived very happily for some time but the crow was restless and wished to better their condition; for this purpose she one day dressed herself, as upon the former occasion, and went to visit the wolf who as usual received her very kindly. She again reminded the wolf of their still deplorable condition, there being no living creature upon the earth but themselves. So she proposed to make Indians, to which end she directed him to sing a particular song, while she beat time with a rattle. After many songs had been sung, the crow by many degress lost her natural form, and assumed that of an Indian.

He found they had no idea of a Supreme Being and denied the existence of such a thing as immortality. Dr. Cous, however, thinks Henry was mistaken in this view.

He accompanied them upon a war expedition against the Sioux in which they claim to have killed three hundred of the enemy. Henry walked out on the battle field and expressed great doubt of the extent of the carnage, believing that no more than thirty were killed.

He mentions that all of their villages were surrounded by stockades, badly kept up and of very little value. Daily he found the young men engaging in foot races for very long distances in order to be prepared for any emergency, particularly if dismounted in war. These daily races were about six miles long. They also were entertained with a horse race, in which practically all of the horsemen of the village engaged, riding pell mell and without any apparent goal in view. He found them much addicted to shooting at a mark with guns, and bows and arrows and observed among the Mandans the young men continually playing a game in which "two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long on which are cut a certain number of *notches an* inch long; in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, sixteen inches square, one near each end and one in the middle. These are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which, they, themselves, only understand. Indeed the same may be said of the whole game.

000

The ground on which they play is a smooth level place about forty paces long and five broad; the players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground and trot on until they are half way through, then one of them throws the ball gently ahead in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game. At the same time, both players push their rods forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. Then then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops and count accordingly."

He learned a good deal about their self-mutilation and torture to which they subject themselves, and from which most of the men have lost a joint of each of their several fingers, the amputation being performed as a memorial to some relative. Before a young man can become a brave, he is required to do a penance. He strips entirely naked and repairs to a high hill, a day's journey from the village, in the depth of winter and must remain there as many days as his strength will permit, dancing, bawling, howling. Some of them have been known to remain out seven days in the severest weather. He is then to return to the village at full speed where he is met by a particular friend and for every day he is absent is given a bull's head, to which is fastened one and a half fathoms of cord and this is fastened to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders made by pinching up a fold of the skin through which is thrust the barb of an arrow. A separate incision must be made for each bull's head. He must then walk through the village, dragging these weights after him. He found that most of the women had their faces tatooed in a most disgusting manner.

114

Bradbury's Observations. John Bradbury, F. R. S., who with the noted naturalist, Nuttal, Brackenridge, and others, accompanied the Hunt-Astoria Expedition in 1811, tells of his experiences among the Mandans in his book entitled "Travels In the Interior of America," (printed in Liverpool and published in London, 1817).

In the following quotations therefrom, it will be noted that he remarks upon the "brown hair" of a Minnetaree squaw and her child. Also concerning She-he-ke (Shahaska or Big White), the taking of whom through to the states and back in connection with the Lewis and Clarke expedition involved so much trouble.

114 The observations of Bradbury concerning the Rees may be found in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 432, et. seq.) Extracts from his book, relative to the Mandans follow:

Brown Hair. Big White. "28th. (June, 1811.) Having select- 142 ed some silver ornaments which I proposed to present to She-he-ke, Mr. Brackenridge agreed to accompany me to the Mandan village. We obtained horses from Mr. Lewis for the journey, and about ten o'clock set off. We crossed Knife river at the lower of the Minnetaree villages, and paid the accustomed price to the squaw who ferried us over; for each of us three balls and three charges of powder. Before we left the village, we were invited into the lodge belonging to the White Wolf, one of the chiefs of this village, with whom we smoked. I was surprised to observe that his squaw and one of his children had brown hair, although their skins did not appear to be lighter colored than the rest of the tribe. As the woman appeared to be above forty years of age, it is almost certain that no intercourse had taken place between these people and the whites at the time she was born. I should have been less surprised at the circumstance had they been one of those tribes who change their places of residence; but they have not even a tradition of having resided in any other place than 800 where the present village stands. The White Wolf appeared to be much pleased with our visit, and by signs invited us to call at his lodge whenever we came that way. He shook hands very cordially with us at parting. In our way to the Mandans we passed through the small village belonging to the Ahwahhaways, consisting of not more than eighteen or twenty lodges. This nation can scarcely muster fifty warriors and yet they carry on an offensive war against the Snake and Flathead Indians. On our arrival at the Mandans, She-he-ke, as before, came to the door of his lodge and said, 'Come in house.' We had scarcely entered when he looked earnestly at us, and said, 'whisky.' In this we could not gratify him, as we had not thought of bringing any. I presented the silver ornaments to him, with which he seemed much pleased, and after smoking we were feasted with a dish consisting of jerked buffalo meat, corn and beans boiled together. I mentioned to him my wish to purchase some moccasins, and he sent out into the village to inform the squaws, who flocked into the lodge in such numbers, and with so plentiful a supply, that I could not buy a tenth part. I furnished myself with a dozen pairs at a cheap rate, for which I gave a little vermillion, or rather red lead, and a few strings of blue beads. During our stay, She-he-ke, pointing to a little boy in the lodge whom we had not noticed before, gave us to understand that his father was one of the party that accompanied Mr. Lewis, and also indicated the individual. On our return we crossed the Knifé river at the upper village of the Minnetarees. The old squaw who brought the canoe to the opposite side of the river, to fetch us over, was accompanied by three young squaws, apparently about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who came over in the canoe, and were followed by an Indian, who swam over to take care of our horses. When our saddles were taken off, and put into the canoe, Mr. Brackenridge and myself stepped in, and were followed by the old squaw, when the three young squaws instantly stripped, threw their clothes into the canoe, and jumped into the river. We had scarcely embarked before they began to practice on us every mischievous trick they could think of. The slow progress which the canoe made enabled them to swim around us frequently, sometimes splashing us; then seizing hold of the old squaw's paddle, who tried in vain to strike them with it; at other times they would pull the canoe in such a manner as to change the direction of its course; at length they all seized hold of the hind part, and hung to it. The old squaw called to the Indian who was following our horses. He immediately swam down to our assistance, and soon relieved us from our frolicsome tormentors, by plunging them successively over head, and holding them for a considerable time under water. After some time they all made their escape from him, by diving and swimming in different directions. On landing, by way of retaliation, we seized their clothes, which caused much laughing betwixt the squaw and the Indian. We had many invitations to have staid to smoke, but as it was near sunset, and we had seven miles to ride, they excused us." (p. 150-153.) 900

Brackenridge's Journal. H. M. Brackenridge, who came up the Missouri river with the Hunt-Astoria Expedition in 1811, and whose views on the Aricaras were presented in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 408, et. seq.), also briefly visited the Mandans, and some of his observations concerning them will now be presented. His travels on that occasion are published in his "Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri," 114

114 (Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

Villages. "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our
361 voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The
291 men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

764 **Burial Scaffolds.** "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great number of bones were scattered on the ground underneath. This mode of exposing the dead has something peculiarly horrible in it. The wolves of the prairie, the birds of the air, and even the Indian dogs, are attracted to the place, and taught to feed on human flesh. 764

"This custom prevails amongst all the wandering tribes; but amongst the Arikara, the dead are deposited in a grave as with us, which I think clearly proves their origin to be different from that of their neighbors; for there is nothing, in which men in all ages and countries, have manifested more solicitude, than in the treatment of the remains of their deceased friends." 764 171

Le Borgne. Brackenridge's vivid description of the Gros Ventre chief, Le Borgne or the One Eyed, is found below. The two chiefs were present at a celebration had by the whites at the Mandan villages on July 4th. He says: 000

"The two principal chiefs happened to be with us; the One Eyed, and the Black Shoe. The former is a giant in stature, and if his one eye had been placed in the middle of his forehead, he might have passed for a cyclop. His huge limbs and gigantic frame, his bushy hair shading his coarse visage and savage features, with his one eye flashing fire, constituted him a fearful demon. He sways, with unlimited control, all these villages, and is feared by all the neighboring nations. I remarked that on one or two occasions he treated She-he-ke, with great contempt. Lisa having referred to something said by that chief, 'What,' said this monster, 'What. Does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?' . He is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant."

Brackenridge then relates how the ruthless old outlaw murdered a young warrior who came to him to reclaim his wife who had been forcibly taken by that chief in her husband's absence, the mother of the slain warrior having lost her mind in grief over the dastardly act.

Brackenridge adds in a note: "She-he-ke is a fat man, extremely talkative, and no great warrior."

In his "Views of Louisiana," Brackenridge thus summarizes as to the tribes at the Mandan villages: 361

"Mandans, or Gros Ventres—The remnants of a, number of villages, according to their account, seventeen. They claim only

361 the small portion of country which they actually occupy; in this, resembling the Arikaras. They still consist of seven villages, five of Gros Ventres, and two of Mandans, in the distance of about fifteen miles. They are generally on good terms with each other, but at present there exist considerable dissensions and even open [191] rupture. There is not the least affinity in their languages but the Gros Ventres is spoken by all the Mandans. According to the tradition of these last, who were originally of the Crow nation, owing to a quarrel between two chiefs, over the carcass of a buffalo which they had slain, a separation took place of the followers of each."

His estimate of the space comprised in the general group of those villages, as above, is too large, as it was probably not more that about nine miles between their extremes. He was also probably in error in regarding the Gros Ventres as originally Crows—it would perhaps be nearer historical fact to say that part of them had, about the time of their arrival from eastward, joined the Crows. This point is not entirely clear, however.

000 **Catlin's Account of Mandans.** George Catlin, whose observations upon the Aricaras were brought out in Part I of this paper (S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, pp. 490-3), now comes in for consideration in order of time, in his more detailed treatment of the Mandans in many phases of their character. The space herein allotted to his very interesting description and deductions relative to that tribe, is believed to be justified, in view of the generally admitted fact that of all the visitors among and students of this most interesting tribe of Indians, none have written of them in strains so attractive as did he; while we believe that his exhaustive descriptions of their customs and their traditions concerning their religious ceremonies, including also their Flood legends, constituting undoubted classics, are instructive in a high degree, so much so that there seems to be but one way of presenting his impressions and conclusions in order to do him and the subject in hand justice, viz., by quoting his own language at every step, with but few deviations from that course. No attempt to summarize his views could result otherwise than in a garbling process which must be nothing short of unfair and sadly ineffectual in bringing before the reader or student what Catlin saw and

000

learned of that tribe while among them under very favorable circumstances for gaining close knowledge of them.

He visited them in 1833; and we quote from his exceedingly valuable and well-known work upon "North American Indians," (Vol. I), in the third edition, published by Tilt and Bogue, London, 1842. His narratives follow:

Peculiar Race. "The Mandans, (or See-pohs-kah-nu-mah-kah-kee, 'people of the pheasants,' as they call themselves), are perhaps one of the most ancient tribes of Indians in our country. Their origin, like that of all the other tribes is from necessity, involved in mystery and obscurity. Their traditions and peculiarities I shall casually recite in this or future epistles, which, when understood, will at once, I think, denominate them a peculiar and distinct race. They take great pride in relating their traditions, with regard to their origin, contending that they were the first people created on earth. Their existence in these regions has been from a very ancient period; and, from what I could learn from other traditions, they have, at a former period, been a very numerous and powerful nation; but by the continual wars which have existed between them and their neighbors, they have been reduced to their present numbers." (Vol. 1, p. 80.)

As seen below, Catlin states that the two Mandan villages were, in 1833, both on the west side of the Missouri. This is accounted for by the fact that after Lewis and Clarke and others who were there early in the nineteenth century had visited them, the upper of the two villages had been flanked on the **east** side by the changed course of the river, which had formerly passed close to it on the west side. A map published by Wheeler in his "Trail of Lewis and Clarke," (opposite page 270), shows this change in the course of the river, and while Catlin says the two villages were 'about two miles distant from each other,' we have seen that they were really about three miles apart, which is the distance given on Wheeler's map. The river turns from south to east in its course between the two villages, so that the upper village is a little north of due west from the lower one. He also says that these were formerly **ten**, instead of nine villages, and that they were located fifteen or twenty, instead of eighty miles down the river.

Mandan Villages. "This tribe is at present located on the west

000 bank of the Missouri, about 1800 miles above St. Louis, and 200 below the mouth of Yellowstone river. They have two villages only, which are about two miles distant from each other; and number in all (as near as I can learn), about 2000 souls. Their present villages are beautifully located, and judiciously also, for defense against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower (or principal) town, in particular, is one of the most beautiful and pleasing that can be seen in the world, and even more beautiful than imagination could ever create. In the very midst of an extensive valley (embraced within a thousand graceful swells and parapets or mounds of interminable green changing to blue, as they vanish in the distance), is built the city, or principal town of the Mandans. On an extensive plain (which is covered with a green turf, as well as the hills and dales, as far as the eye can possibly range, without tree or brush to be seen) are to be seen rising from the ground, and towards the heavens, domes, (not 'of gold,') but of dirt, and the thousand spears (not 'spires') and scalp-poles, etc., etc., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

"These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles further down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well as from the number of lodges which their villages contain, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day."

Mound Builders. "There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are. There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which show clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination." 000

Ditch—Palisade. "The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admirably selected for defense; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet in height, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes or fortifications) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are re-loading and discharging their weapons through the piquet."

Lodges. "The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, having but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be entirely built of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the

ood

tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the center and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage—for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a lookout—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling red men.

"The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the center, and immediately under the skylight is the fireplace—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fireplace, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo robes and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connections. They all sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across

000

the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo robe folded up for a pillow, and others drawn over them instead of blankets. These beds, as far as I have seen them (and I have visited almost every lodge in the village), are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins, oftentimes beautifully dressed and placed over the upright poles or frame, like a suit of curtains; leaving a hole in front, sufficiently spacious for the occupant to pass in and out, to and from his or her bed. Some of these coverings or curtains are exceedingly beautiful, being cut tastefully into fringe, and handsomely ornamented with porcupine's quills and picture writings on hieroglyphics."

Arms and Armor. "From the great number of inmates in these lodges, they are necessarily very spacious, and the number of beds considerable. It is no uncommon thing to see these lodges fifty feet in diameter inside (which is an immense room), with a row of these curtained beds extending quite around their sides, being some ten or twelve of them, placed four or five feet apart, and the space between them occupied by a large post, fixed quite firm in the ground, and six or seven feet high, with large wooden pegs or bolts in it, on which are hung and grouped, with a wild and startling taste, the arms and armor of the respective proprietor; consisting of his whitened shield, embossed and emblazoned with the figure of his protecting medicine (or mystery), his bow and quiver, his war club or battle-axe, his dart or javelin, his tobacco pouch and pipe, his medicine bag, and his eagle, ermine or raven head-dress; and over all, and on top of the post (as if placed by some conjuror or Indian magician, to guard and protect the spell of wildness that reigns in this strange place), stands forth in full relief the head and horns of a buffalo, which is by a village regulation, owned and possessed by every man in the nation, and hung at the head of his bed, which he uses as a mask when called upon by the chiefs, to join in the buffalo dance, of which I shall say more in a future epistle.

"This arrangement of beds, of arms, etc., combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colors, of furs, of trinkets, of barbed and glistening points and steel, of mysteries and hocus pocus, together with the somber and smoked color of the roof and sides of the lodge; and the wild and rude and red—the graceful (though uncivil) conversational, garrulous, story-telling, and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes—wooing ther sweethearts, and embracing their little ones about their peaceful and endeared firesides; together with their pots and spoons and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, around them; present altogether one of the most picturesque scenes to the eye of a stranger, that can be possibly seen; and far more wild and vivid than could ever be imagined."

Garrulous and Happy. "Reader, I say these people were garrulous, story-telling and happy; this is true, and literally so; and it belongs to me to establish the fact, and correct the error which seems to have gone forth to the world on this subject. As I have before observed, there is no subject that I know of, within the scope and reach of human wisdom, on which the civilized world in this enlightened age are more incorrectly informed, than upon that of the true manners and customs, and moral condition, rights and abuses, of the North American Indians; and that, as I have also before remarked, chiefly on account of the difficulty of our cultivating a fair and honorable acquaintance with them, and doing them the justice, and ourselves the credit, of a fair and impartial investigation of their true character. The present age of refinement and research has brought every thing else that I know of (and a vast deal more than the most enthusiastic mind ever dreamed of), within the scope and fair estimation of refined intellect and of science; while the wild and timid savage, with his interesting customs and modes has vanished, or his character has become changed, at the approach of the enlightened and intellectual world; who follow him like a phantom for a while, and in ignorance of his true character at last turn back to the common business and social transactions of life.

"Owing to the above difficulties, which have stood in the way, the world has fallen into many egregious errors with regard to the true modes and meaning of the savage, which I am striving to set forth and correct in the course to these epistles. And amongst them all, there is none more common nor more entirely erroneous, nor more easily refuted, than the current one, that 'the Indian is a sour, morose, reserved and taciturn man.' I have heard this opinion advanced a thousand times, and I believed it; but such certainly, is not uniformly nor generally the case.

"I have observed in all my travels amongst the Indian tribes, and more particularly amongst these unassuming people, that they are far more talkative and conversational race than can easily be seen in the civilized world. This assertion, like many others I shall occasionally make, will somewhat startle the folks of the east, yet it is true. No one can look into the wigwams of these people, or into any little momentary group of them, without being at once struck with the conviction that small-talk, gossip, garrulity, and story-telling are the leading passions with them, who have little else to do in the world, but to while away their lives in the innocent amusement of the exercise of those talents with which nature has liberally endowed them, for their mirth and enjoyment.

"One has but to walk or ride about this little town and its environs for a few hours in a pleasant day, and overlook the numerous games and gambols, where their notes and yelps of exultation are unceasingly vibrating in the atmosphere; or peep in to the wigwams (and watch the glistening fun that's beaming from the noses, cheeks and chins, of the crouching, cross-legged, and prostrate groups around the fire; where the pipe is passed, and jokes and anecdote, and laughter are excessive) to become convinced that it is natural to laugh and be merry. Indeed it would be strange if a race of people like these, who have little else to do or relish in life, should be curtailed in that source of pleasure and amusement; and it would be also strange, if a life-time of indulgence and practice in so innocent and productive a mode of amusement, free from the cares and anxieties of business or professions, should not advance them in their modes, and enable them to draw far greater pleasure from such sources, than we in the civilized and business world can possibly feel. If the uncultured condition of their minds curtails the number of their enjoyments, yet they are free from, and independent of, a thousand cares and jealousies, which arise from mercenary motives in the civilized world; and are yet far ahead of us (in my opinion) in the real and uninterrupted enjoyment of their simple natural faculties.

"They live in a country and in communities, where it is not customary to look forward into the future with concern, for they live without incurring the expenses of life, which are absolutely necessary and unavoidable in the enlightened world; and of course their inclinations and faculties are solely directed to the enjoyment of the present day, without the sober reflections on the past or apprehensions of the future.

"With minds thus unexpanded and uninfluenced by the thousand passions and ambitions of civilized life, it is easy and natural to concentrate their thoughts and conversation upon the little and trifling occurrences of their lives. They are fond of fun and good cheer, and can laugh easily and heartily at a slight joke, of which their peculiar modes of life furnish them an inexhaustible fund, and enable them to cheer their little circle about the wigwam fireside with endless laughter and garrulity.

"It may be thought, that I am taking a great deal of pains to establish this fact, and I am dwelling longer upon it than I otherwise should, inasmuch as I am opposing an error that seems to have become current through the world; and which, if it be once corrected, removes a material difficulty, which has always stood in the way of a fair and just estimation of the Indian character. For the purpose of placing the Indian in a proper light before the world, as I hope to do in many respects, it is of importance to me—it is but justice to the savage—and justice to my readers also, that such points should be cleared up as I proceed; and for the world who inquire for correct and just information, they must take my words for the truth, or else come to this country and look for themselves, into these protesque circles of never-ending laughter and fun, instead of going to Washington city to gaze on the poor embarrassed Indian who is called there by his 'Great Father,' to contend with the sophistry of the learned and inquisitive world, in bartering away his lands with the graves and the hunting grounds of his ancestors. There is not the proper place to study the Indian character; yet it is the place where the sycophant and the scribbler go to gaze and frown upon him—to learn his character, and write his history, and because he does not speak, and quaffs the delicious beverage which he receives from white men's hand, 'he is a speechless brute and drunkard.' An Indian is a begger in Washington city, and a white man is almost equally so in the Mandan village. An Indian in Washington is mute, is

ddd

dumb and embarrassed; and so is a white man (and for the very same reasons) in this place—he has nobody to talk to.

"A wild Indian, to reach the civilized world, must needs travel some thousands of miles in vehicles of conveyance, to which he is unaccustomed—through latitudes and longitudes which are new to him—living on food that he is unused to—stared and gazed at by the thousands and tens of thousands whom he cannot talk to—his heart grieving and his body sickening at the exhibition of white men's wealth and luxuries, which are enjoyed on the land, and over the bones of his ancestors. And at the end of his journey he stands (like a caged animal) to be scanned—to be criticised—to be pitied—and heralded to the world as a mute—as a brute, and a beggar."

White Men Liars. "A white man, to reach this village, must travel by steam boat—by canoes—on horseback and on foot—swim rivers—wade quagmires—fight mosquitoes—patch his moccasins, and patch them again and again, and his breeches; live on meat alone—sleep on the ground the whole way, and think and dream of his friends he has left behind; and when he gets here, half-starved, and half-naked, and more than half sick, he finds himself a beggar for a place to sleep, and for something to eat; a mute amongst thousands who flock about him, to look and to criticise, and to laugh at him for his jaded appearance, and speak of him as they do of all white men (without distinction) as liars. These people are in the habit of seeing no white men in their country but traders, and know of no other; deeming us all alike, and receiving us all under the presumption that we come to trade or barter; applying to us all, indiscriminately, the epithet of 'liar' or traders.

"The reader will therefore see, that we mutually suffer in each other's estimation from the unfortunate ignorance, which distance has chained us in; and (as I can vouch, and the Indian also, who has visited the civilized world) that the historian who would record justly and correctly the character and customs of a people, must go and live among them. (Vol. 1, p. 86.)

(From Caltin's second letter on the Mandans, p. 87.)

"In my last, I gave some account of the village, and the customs, and appearances of this strange people—and I will now proceed to give further details on that subject:"

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 **Lodge Roofs.** "I have this morning, perched myself upon the top of one of the earth-covered lodges, which I have before described, and having the whole village beneath and about me, with its sachems—its warriors—its dogs—and its horses in motion—its medicines (or mysteries) and scalp poles waiving over my head—its piquets—its green fields and prairies, and rivers in full view, with the din and bustle of the thrilling panorama that is about me. I shall be able, I hope, to give some sketches more to the life than I could have done from any effort of recollection.

"I said that the lodges or wigwams were covered with earth—were forty or sixty feet in diameter, and so closely grouped that there was but just room enough to walk and ride between them— that they had a door by which to enter them, and a hole in the top for the admission of light, and for the smoke to escape—that the inmates were at times grouped upon their tops in conversations and other amusements, etc., and yet you know not exactly how they look, nor what is the precise appearance of the strange world that is about me. There is really a newness and rudeness in every thing that is to be seen. There are several hundred houses or dwellings about me, and they are purely unique—they are all covered with dirt—the people are all red, and yet distinct from all other red folks I have seen. The horses are wild—every dog is a wolf—the whole moving mass are strangers to me; the living, in everything, carry an air of intractable wildness about them, and the dead are not buried but dried upon scaffolds.

"The groups of lodges around me present a very curious and pleasing appearance, resembling in shape (more nearly than anything else I can compare them) to so many potash-kettles inverted. On the tops of these are to be seen groups standing and reclining, whose wild and picturesque appearance would be difficult to describe. Stern warriors, like statues, standing in dignified groups, wrapped in their painted robes, with their heads decked and plumed with quills of the war-eagle; extending their long arms to the east or west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover softening the heart of his fair taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the 'moccasin' or the 'platter.'

1: DeLand O-4 (No date}1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence."

Village Common—"Big Canoe." "In the center of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and festivals, shows and exhibitions; and also for their 'annual religious ceremonies,' which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the center; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of those annual religious rites.

"This object is in the form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unbacked or scratched, as a symbol of the 'Big Canoe,' as they call it."

Medicine Lodge—The Flood. "One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the 'Medicine Lodge,' or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this grand affair, and as I have not yet seen anything of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself—which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

"In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible trash (independent of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffalos' skins, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed on a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings which he is enjoying. Such is a part of the strange medley that is before and around me; and amidst them and the blue streams of smoke that are rising from the tops of these hundred 'coal-pits,' can be seen in distance, the green and boundless, treeless, bushless prairie; and on it and contiguous to the piquet which encloses the village, a hundred scaffolds, on which their 'dead live,' as they term it."

Burial Scaffolds. "These people never bury the dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs; and they are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposit for the dead, is just back of the village, on a level prairie; and with all its appearances, history, forms, ceremonies, etc., is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race.

"Whenever a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honors and condolence are paid to his remains, and the body dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco—knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough to last him a few days on the journey which he is to perform; a fresh buffalo's skin, just taken from the animal's back, is wrapped around the body, and tightly bound and wound with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes are soaked in water, till they are quite soft and elastic, which are also bandaged around the body in the same manner, and tied fast with thongs, which are wound with great care and exactness, so as to exclude the action of the air from all parts of the body.

"There is then a separate scaffold erected for it, constructed of four up-right poles, a little higher than human hands can reach; and the tops of these, are small poles passing around from one post to the other ; across which a number of willow rods just strong enough to support the body, which is laid upon them on its back, with its feet carefully presented towards the rising sun. 000

"There are a great number of these bodies resting exactly in a similar way; excepting in some instances where a chief, or medicine man, may be seen with a few yards of scarlet or blue cloth spread over his remains, as a mark of public respect and esteem. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call, 'the village of the dead;' and the traveler, who visits this country to study and learn, will not only be struck with the novel appearance of the scene, but if he will give attention to the respect and devotions that are paid to this sacred place, he will draw many a moral deduction that will last him through life; he will learn, at least, that filial, conjugal, and paternal affection are not necessarily the results of civilization, but that the Great Spirit had given them to man in his native state; and that the spices and improvements of the enlightened world have never refined upon them."

Grief for the Dead. "There is not a day in the year in which one may not see in this place evidences of this fact, that will wring tears from his eyes, and kindle in his bosom a spark of respect and sympathy for the poor Indian, if he never felt it before. Fathers, mothers, wives and children, may be seen lying under these scaffolds, prostrated upon the ground, with their faces in the dirt, howling forth incessantly the most piteous and heart-broken cries and lamentations for the misfortunes of their kindred; tearing their hair—cutting their flesh with their knives, and doing other penance to appease the spirits of the dead, whose misfortunes they attribute to some sin or omission of their own, for which they sometimes inflict the most excruciating self-torture."

"Golgatha" Circles. "When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relations having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles of a hundred or more on the prairie—placed at equal distances apart (some eight or nine inches from each other), with the faces all looking to the center; where they are religiously protected and preserved in their precise positions from year to year, as objects of religious and affectionate veneration.*

"There are several of these 'Golgothas' or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the center of each ring or circle is a little mound of three feet high, on which uniformly rest two buffalo skulls (a male and female); in the center of the little mound is erected a 'medicine pole,' about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.

"Each one of these skulls is placed upon a bunch of wild sage, which has been pulled and placed under it. The wife knows (by some mark or resemblance) the skull of her husband or her child, which lies in this group; and there seldom passes a day that she does not visit it, with a dish of the best cooked food that her wigwam affords, which she sets before the skull at night, and returns for the dish in the morning. As soon as it is discovered that the sage on which the skull rests is beginning to decay, the woman cuts a fresh bunch, and places the skull carefully upon it, removing that which was under it.

"Independent of the above named duties, which draw the women to this spot, they visit it from inclination, and linger upon it to hold converse and company with the dead. There is scarcely an hour in a pleasant day, but more or less of these women may be seen sitting or lying by the skull of their child or husband—talking to it in the most pleasant and endearing language that they can use (as they were wont to do in former days) and seemingly getting an answer back. It is not infrequently the case, that the woman brings her needle-work with her, spending the greater part of the day, sitting by the side of the skull of her child, chatting incessantly with it, while she is embroidering or garnishing a pair of moccasins; and perhaps overcome with fatigue, falls asleep, with her arms encircled around it, forgetting

000

herself for hours; after which she gathers up her things and returns to the village.

"There is something exceedingly interesting and impressive in these scenes, which are so strikingly dissimilar, and yet within a few rods of each other; the one is the place where they pour forth the frantic anguish of their souls—and afterwards pay their visits to the other, to jest and gossip with the dead.

"The great variety of shapes and characters exhibited in these groups or crania, render them a very interesting study for the craniologist and phrenologist; but I apprehend that it would be a matter of great difficulty (if not of impossibility) to procure them at this time, for the use and benefit of the scientific world." (Vol. 1, pp. 87-91.)

In his next letter or chapter Catlin gives some interesting pen pictures of individual Mandan chiefs. Referring to the subject of their customs as having already been dwelt upon to some extent to be taken up in other phases later on, he says:

Mandan Chiefs. "I drop them and introduce a few of the wild and gentlemanly Mandans themselves; and first, Ha-na-tah-nu-mauh, the wolf chief. This man is head chief of the nation, and familiarly known by the name of 'Chief de Loup,' as the French traders call him; a haughty, austere and overbearing man, respected and feared by his people rather than loved. The tenure by which this man holds his office, is that by which the head chiefs of most of the tribes claim, that of inheritance. It is a general, though not an infallible rule amongst the numerous tribes of North American Indians, that the office of chief belongs to the eldest son of a chief; provided he shows himself, by his conduct, to be equally worthy of it as any other in the nation; making it hereditary on a very proper condition—in default of which requisites, or others which may happen, the office is elective.

"The dress of this chief is one of great extravagance, and some beauty; manufactured of skins, and a great number of quills of the raven, forming his stylish head-dress.

"The next and second chief of the tribe, is Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears.) This extraordinary man, though second in office, is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant and gentlemanly in his deportment—

000 handsome, brave and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of his battles emblazoned on it; which would fill a book of themselves, if properly translated. This, readers, is the most extraordinary man, perhaps, who lives at this day, in the atmosphere of nature's noblemen; and I shall certainly tell you more of him anon.

"After him, there are Mah-tahp-ta-ha, he who rushes through the middle; Seehk-hee-da, the mouse colored feather; Sam-ja-ka-ko-kah, (the deceiving wolf); Mah-to-he-ha, (the old bear), and others, distinguished as chiefs and warriors—and there are belles also; such as Mi-neek-è-sunk-te-ca, the mink; and the little gray-haired Sha-ko-ka, mint; and fifty others who are famous for their conquests, not with the bow or the javelin, but with their small black eyes, which shoot out from under their unfledged brows, and pierce the boldest, fiercest chieftian to the heart."

Peaceable—Prosperous—Polite. "The Mandans are certainly a very interesting and pleasing people in their personal appearance and manners; differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen. They are not a war-like people; for they seldom, if ever, carry war into their enemies' country; but when invaded, show their valor and courage to be equal to that of any people on earth. Being a small tribe, and unable to contend on the wide prairies with the Sioux and other roaming tribes, who are ten times more numerous; they have very judiciously located themselves in a permanent village which is strongly fortified, and insures their preservation. By this means they have advanced further in the arts of manufacture; have supplied their lodges more abundantly with the comforts, and even luxuries of life, than any Indian nation I know of. The consequence of this is, that this tribe have taken many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinements (if I may be allowed to apply the word refinement to Indian life); and are therefore familiarly (and correctly) denominated, by the traders and others, who have been amongst them, 'the polite and friendly Mandans.'

"There is certainly great justice in the remark; and so forcibly have I been struck with the peculiar ease and elegance of these people, together with the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes; the singularity of their language,

000

and their peculiar and unaccountable customs, that I am fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the other North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race."

Are They "Savages?" "Here arises a question of very great interest and importance for discussion and, after further familiarity with their character, customs, and traditions, if I forget it not, I will eventually give it further consideration. Suffice it then, for the present, that their personal appearance alone, independent to their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less, than savage."

Light Complexion. "A stranger in the Mandan village is first struck with the different shades of complexions, and various colors of hair which he sees in a crowd about him; and is at once almost disposed to exclaim 'that these are not Indians.'

"There are a great many of these people whose complexions appear as light as half breeds; and amongst the women particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of features; with hazel, with gray, and with blue eyes, with mildness and sweetness of expression, and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them excedingly pleasing and beautiful."

"Half White." "Why this diversity of complexion I cannot tell, nor can they themselves account for it. Their traditions, as far as I have yet learned them, afford us no information of their having had any knowledge of white men before the visit of Lewis and Clarke, made to their village thirty-three years ago. Since that time there have but very few visits from white men to this place, and surely not enough to have changed the complexions and the customs of a nation. And I recollect perfectly well that Governor Clarke told me, before I started for this place, that I would find the Mandans a strange people and half white."

Hair. "The diversity in color of the hair is also equally as great as that in complexion; for in a numerous group of these people (and more particularly amongst the females, who never take pains to change its natural color, as the men often do,) there may be seen every shade and color of hair that can be seen in our own country, with the exception of red or auburn, which is not to be found.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

"And there is yet one more strange and unaccountable peculiarity, which can probably be seen no where else on earth; nor on any rational grounds accounted for, other than that it is a freak or order of nature, for which she has not seen fit to assign a reason. There are very many, of both sexes, and of every age, from infancy and to manhood and old age, with hair of a bright silvery grey; and in most instances almost perfectly white.

"This singular and eccentric appearance is much oftener seen among the women than it is with the men; for many of the latter who have it, seem ashamed of it, and artfully conceal it, by filling their hair with glue and black and red earth. The women, on the other hand, seem proud of it and display it often in an almost incredible profusion, which spreads over their shoulders and falls as low as the knee. I have ascertained, on a careful inquiry, that about one in ten or twelve of the whole tribe are what the French call 'cheveux gris,' or greyhairs; and that this strange and unaccountable phenomenon is not the result of disease or habit; but that it is unquestionably a hereditary character which runs in families, and indicates unequality in disposition or intellect. And by passing this hair through my hands, as I often have, I have found it uniformly to be as course and harsh as a horse's mane; differing materially from the hair of other colors, which amongst the Mandans, is generally as fine and soft as silk. The reader will at once see, by the above facts, that there is enough upon the faces and heads of these people to stamp them peculiar, when he meets them in the heart of this almost boundless wilderness, presenting such diversities of color in the complexion and hair; when he knows from what he has seen, and what he had read, that all other primitive tribes known in America, are dark copper-colored, with jet black hair.

"From these few facts alone, the reader will see that I am amongst a strange and interesting people, and know how to pardon me, if I lead him through a maze of novelty and mysteries to the knowledge of a strange, yet kind and hospitable people, whose fate, like that of all their race is sealed; whose doom is fixed, to live just long enough to be imperfectly known, and then to fall before the fell disease or sword of civilizing devastation."

Stature—Plaited Hair. "The stature of the Mandans is rather below the ordinary size of man, with beautiful symmetry of form

000

and proportion, and wonderful suppleness and elasticity. They are pleasingly erect and graceful, both in their walk and their attitudes; and the hair of the men, which generally spreads over their backs, falling down to the hams, and sometimes to the ground, is divided into plaits or slabs of two inches in width, and filled with a profusion of glue and red earth or vermillion, at intervals of an inch or two, which becoming very hard, remains in an unchanged state from year to year.

"This mode of dressing the hair is curious, and gives to the Mandans the most singular appearance. The hair of the men is uniformly all laid over from the forehead backwards; carefully kept above and resting on the ear, and thence falling down over the back, in these flattened bunches, and painted red, extending oftimes quite on to the calf of the leg, and sometimes in such profusion as almost to conceal the whole figure from the person walking behind them. In the portrait of San-jaka-ko-kah (the deceiving wolf), where he is represented at full length, with several others of his family around him in a group, there will be seen a fair illustration of these and other customs of these people.

"The hair of the women is also worn as long as they can possibly cultivate it, oiled very often, which preserves on it a beautiful gloss and shows its natural color. They often braid it in two large plaits, one falling down just back of the ear, on each side of the head; and on any occasion which requires them to 'put on their best looks,' they pass their fingers through it, drawing it out of braid, and spreading it over their shoulders.

"The Mandan women observe strictly the same custom which I observed amongst the Crows and Blackfeet (and, in fact, all other tribes I have seen, without a single exception) of parting the hair on the forehead, and always keep the crease or separation filled with vermillion or other red paint. This is one of the very few little, and apparently trivial, customs which I have found amongst the Indians, without being able to assign any cause for it other than that 'they are Indians' and that this is an Indian fashion.

"In mourning, like the Crows and most other tribes, the women are obliged to crop their hair all off, and the usual term of that condolence is until the hair has grown again to its former length.

"When a man mourns for the death of a near relation the case

000 is quite different. His long, valued tresses are of much greater importance, and only a lock or two can be spared. Just enough to tell of his grief to his friends, without destroying his most valued ornament, is doing just reverence and respect to the dead.

"To repeat what I have said before, the Mandans are a pleasing and friendly race of people, of whom it is proverbial among the traders and all who ever have known them, that their treatment of white men in their country has been friendly and kind ever since their first acquaintance with them. They have ever met and received them, on the prairies and in their villages, with hospitality and honor.

"They are handsome and straight and elegant in their forms, not tall, but quick and graceful; easy and polite in their manners, neat in their persons and beautifully clad. When I say 'neat in person and beautifully clad,' however, I do not intend my readers to understand that such is the case with them all, for among them and most other tribes, as with the enlightened world, there are different grades of society—those who care but little for their personal appearance, and those who take great pains to please themselves and their friends. Amongst this class of personages, such as the chiefs and braves, or warriors of distinction, and their families, and dandies or exquisites (a class of beings whom I shall take due time to speak in a future letter) the strictest regard to decency, and cleanliness and elegance of dress is observed; and there are few people, perhaps, who take more pains to keep their persons neat and cleanly than they do.

"Catlin's version of the circumstances attending the habits of the Mandans regarding bathing will be seen in what he says below, to be quite different from that of Henry, who ascribes to them an abandon which he condemns:

Bathing Place. "At the distance of half a mile or so above the village, is the customary place where the women and girls resort every morning in the summer months to bathe in the river. To this spot they repair by the hundreds every morning at sunrise, where, on the beautiful beach, they can be seen running and glistening in the sun, whilst they are playing their innocent gambols and leaping into the stream. They all learn to swim well, and the poorest swimmer among them will dash fearlessly into the boiling and eddying current of the Missouri and cross it with

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

perfect ease. At the distance of a quarter of a mile back from the river, extends a terrace or elevated prairie, running north from the village, and forming a kind of semi-circle around this bathing place, and on this terrace, which is some twenty or thirty feet higher than the meadow between it and the river, are stationed every morning several sentinels with their bows and arrows in hand to guard and protect this sacred ground from the approach of boys and men from any directions. 000

"At a little distance below the village, also, is the place where the men and boys go to bathe and learn to swim. After this morning ablution, they return to their village, wipe their limbs dry and use a profusion of bear's grease through their hair and over their bodies.

Swimming. "The art of swimming is known to all the American Indians; and perhaps no people on earth have taken more pains to learn it, nor any who turn it to better account. There certainly are no people whose avocations of life more often call for the use of their limbs in this way, as many of the tribes spend their lives on the shores of our vast lakes and rivers, paddling about from their childhood in their fragile bark canoes, which are liable to continual accidents, which often throw the Indian upon his natural resources for the preservation of his life.

"There are many times also, when out upon their long marches in the prosecution of their almost continual warfare, when it becomes necessary to plunge into and swim across the wildest streams and rivers, at times when they have no canoes or crafts in which to cross them. I have as yet seen no tribe where this art is neglected. It is learned at a very early age by both sexes, and enables the strong and hardy muscles of the squaws to take their child upon the back, and successfully to pass any river that lies in their way.

"The mode of swimming amongst the Mandans, as well as amongst most of the other tribes, is quite different from that practiced in those parts of the civilized world, which I have had the pleasure to visit. The Indian instead of parting his hands simultaneously under the chin, and making the stroke outward, in a horizontal direction, causing thereby a serious strain upon the chest, throws his body alternately upon the left and right side, raising one arm entirely above the water and reaching as far

000

forward as he can, to dip it, whilst his whole weight and force are spent upon the one that is passing under him, and like a paddle propelling him along; whilst this arm is making a half circle, and is being raised out of the water behind him, the opposite arm is describing a similar arch in the air above his head, to be dipped in the water as far as he can reach before him, with the hand turned under, forming a sort of bucket, to act more effectively as it passes in its turn underneath him.

"By this bold and powerful mode of swimming, which may want the grace that many would wish to see, I am quite sure, from the experience I have had, that much of the fatigue and strain upon the breast and spine are avoided, and that a man will preserve his strength and his breath much longer in this alternate and rolling motion, than he can in the usual mode of swimming, in the polished world.

Vapor Baths. "In addition to the modes of bathing which I have above described, the Mandans have another, which is a much greater luxury, and often resorted to by the sick, but far more often by the well and sound, as a matter of luxury only, or perhaps for the purpose of hardening their limbs and preparing them for the thousands of exposures and vicissitudes of life to which they are continually liable. I allude to their vapor baths, or sudatories, of which each village had several, and which seem to be a kind of public property—accessible to all, and resorted to by all, male and female, old and young, sick and well.

"In every Mandan lodge is to be seen a crib or basket, much in the shape of a bathing tub, curiously woven with willow boughs, and sufficiently large to receive any person of the family in a reclining or recumbent posture; which when any one is to take a bath, is carried by the squaw to the sudatory for the purpose, and brought back to the wigwam again after it has been used.

These sudatories are always near the village, above or below it on the bank of the river. They are generally built of skins (in the form of a Crow or Sioux lodge which I have before described), covered with buffalo skins sewed tight together, with a kind of furnace in the center; or in other words in the center of the lodge are two walls of stone about six feet long and about two and a half feet apart, and about three feet high; across and over this

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Odd

space, between the two walls, are laid a number of round sticks, on which the bathing crib is placed. Contiguous to the lodge, and outside of it, is a little furnace something similar, in the side of the bank, where the women kindle a hot fire, and heat to a red heat a number of large stones, which are kept at these places for this particular purpose; and having them all in readiness, she goes home or sends word to inform her husband or other one who is waiting, that all is ready; then he makes his appearance entirely naked, though with a large buffalo robe wrapped around him. He then enters the lodge and places himself in the crib or basket, either on his back or in a sitting posture (the latter of which is generally preferred), with his back to the door of the lodge; then the squaw brings in a large stone red hot, between two sticks (lashed together somewhat in the form of a pair of tongs) and, placing it under him, throws cold water upon it, which raises a profusion of vapor about him. He is at once enveloped in a cloud of steam, and a woman or child will sit at a little distance and continue to dash water upon the stone, whilst the matron of the lodge is out, and preparing to make her appearance with another heated stone; or he will sit and dip from a wooden bowl, with a ladle made of the Mountain sheep's horn, and throw upon the heated stones with his own hands, the water which he is drawing through his lungs and pores, in the next moment, in the most delectable and exhilerating vapors, as it distills through the mat of wild sage and other medicinal and aromatic herbs, which he has strewed over the bottom of his basket, and on which he reclines.

"During all this time the lodge is shut perfectly tight, and he quaffs this delicious and renovating draught to his lungs with deep drawn sighs, and with extended nostrils, until he is drenched in the most profound degree of perspiration that can be produced; when he makes a kind of strangling signal, at which the lodge is opened, and he darts forth with the speed of a frightened deer, and plunges headlong into the river, from which he instantly escapes again, wraps his robe around him and 'leans' as fast as possible for home. Here his limbs are wiped dry, and wrapped close and tight within the fur of the buffalo robes, in which he takes his nap, with his feet to the fire; then oils his limbs and hair with bear's grease, dresses and plumes himself for a visit—

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 a feast—a parade, or a council; or slicks down his long hair, and rubs his oiled limbs to a polish, with a piece of soft buckskin, prepared to join in games of ball or Tchung-kee.

"Such is the sudatory or the vapor bath of the Mandans, and, as I before observed, it is resorted to both as an every day luxury by those who have the time and energy or industry to indulge in it; and also used by the sick as a remedy for nearly all the diseases which are known amongst them."

Fever Diseases. "Fevers are very rare, and in fact almost unknown amongst these people; but in the few cases of fever which have been known, this treatment has been applied, and without the fatal consequences which we would naturally predict. The greater part of their diseases are inflammatory rheumatism, and other chronic diseases; and for these, this mode of treatment, with their modes of life, does admirably well. This custom is similar amongst nearly all of these Missouri Indians and amongst the Pawees, Omahas and Punchas and other tribes, who have suffered with the small pox (the dread destroyer of the Indian race) this mode was practiced by the poor creatures, who fled by hundreds to the river's edge, and by hundreds died before they could escape from the waves, into which they had plunged in the heat and rage of a burning fever. Such will yet be the scourge, and such the misery of these poor unthinking people, and each tribe to the Rocky Mountains, as it has been with every tribe between here and the Atlantic Ocean. White men-whiskey-tomahawks-scalping knives, guns, powder and ball-small-pox-debauchery extermination." (pp. 92-99)

In the following letter or chapter of Catlin, he enlarges upon the head-dresses, tunics, etc., of the Mandans; and then philosophizes upon the mutual misunderstandings existing between the whites and the Indians concerning the habits and customs of the other, and enters into refinements of reasoning and observation which seem to indicate a somewhat profound study by him of the Indian character, and which leads him to the conclusion that the Indian had the best of the Caucasian on the score of reasons for the "state of things." The originality of Catlin's treatment of these phases may excuse us in inserting his narrative on that head at large.

Head-Dresses, etc. "The Mandans in many instances dress very neatly, and some of them splendidly. As they are in their native state, their dresses are all of their own manufacture, and of course, altogether made of skins of different animals belonging to those regions. There is, certainly, a reigning and striking similarity of costume amongst most of the Northwestern tribes; and I cannot say that the dress of the Mandans is decidedly distinct from that of the Crows or the Blackfeet, and Assiniboines or the Sioux; yet there are modes of stitching or embroidering in every tribe, which may at once enable the traveler, who is familiar with their modes, to detect or distinguish the dress of any tribe. These differences consist generally in the fashions of constructing the head-dress, or of garnishing their dresses with the porcupine quills, which they use in great profusion.

"Amongst so many different and distinct nations, always at war with each other, and knowing nothing at all of each others languages; and amongst whom fashions in dress seldom if ever change; it may seem somewhat strange that we should find these people so nearly following, or imitating each other, in the forms and modes of their dress and ornaments. This must, however, be admitted, and I think may be accounted for in a manner, without raising the least argument in favor of the theory of their having all sprung from one stock or family; for in their continual warfare, when chiefs or warriors fall, their clothes and weapons usually fall into the possession of the victors, who wear them; and the rest of the tribe would naturally more or less often copy from or imitate them; and so also in their repeated councils or treaties of peace, such articles of dress and other manufactures are customarily exchanged, which are equally adopted by the other tribes, and consequently, eventually lead to the similarity which we find amongst the modes of dress, etc., of the different tribes.

Tunics-Moccasins. "The tunic or shirt of the Mandan men is very similar in shape to that of the Blackfeet—made of two skins of deer or mountain sheep, strung with scalp-locks, beads and ermine. The leggins, like those of the other tribes of whom I have spoken, are made of deer skins and shaped to fit the leg, embroidered with porcupine quills, and fringed with scalps from their enemies' heads. Their moccasins are made of buckskin and neatly ornamented with porcupine quills. Over their shoulders (or in

000 other words, over one shoulder and passing under the other) they very gracefully wear a robe from the young buffalo's back, oftentimes cut down to about half its original size, to make it handy and easy for use. Many of these are also fringed on one side with scalp-locks, and the flesh side of the skin curiously ornamented with pictured representations of the creditable events and battles of their lives.

"Their head-dresses are of various sorts, and many of them exceedingly picturesque and handsome; generally made of war eagles or ravens quills and ermine. These are the most costly part of an Indian's dress in all this country, owing to the difficulty of procuring the quills and fur. The war eagle being the 'rara avis' and the ermine the rarest animal that is found in the country. The tail of the war eagle in this village, provided it is a perfect one, containing some six or eight quills, which are denominated first-rate plumes, and suitable to arrange in a head-dress, will purchase a tolerable good horse (horses, however, are much cheaper here than they are in most other countries.) I have had abundant opportunities of learning the great value which these people sometimes attach to such articles of dress and ornament, as I have been purchasing a great many, which I intend to exhibit in my gallery of Indian paintings, that the world may examine them for themselves, and thereby be enabled to judge of the fidelity of my works, and the ingenuity of Indian manufactures.

"In these purchases I have often been surprised at the prices demanded by them, and perhaps I could not recite a better instance of the kind, than one which occurred here a few days since. One of the chiefs, whom I had painted at full length, in a beautiful costume, with head dress of war eagle quills and ermine, extending quite down to his feet, and whom I was soliciting for the purchase of his dress complete, was willing to sell to me all but the head dress, saying that he could not part with that, as he would never be able to get quills and ermine of so good a quality to make another like it. I agreed with him, however, for the rest of the dress ,and importuned him from day to day for the head dress until he at length replied that if I must have it, he must have two horses for it; the bargain was instantly struck—

the horses were procured from the traders at $25 each, and the head dress secured for my collection."

Horned Crest. "There is occasionally, a chief or a warrior of so extraordinary renown, that he is allowed to wear horns on his head dress, which give to his aspect a strange and majestic effect. These are made of about a third part of the horn of a buffalo bull; the horn having been split from end to end, and a third part of it taken and shaved thin and light, and highly polished. These are attached to the top of the head dress on each side, in the same place that they rise and stand on the head of the buffalo; rising out of the mat of ermine skins and tails, which hang over the top of the head dress somewhat in the form that the large and profuse locks of hair hang and fall over the head of a buffalo bull."

Catlin then explains why, in his view, the Indians are misjudged by the whites as to their supposed frivolities in dress, etc., as follows:

"The same custom I have found observed among the Sioux, the Crows, the Blackfeet and Assiniboines, and it is one of so striking a character as needs a few more words of observation. There is a peculiar meaning or importance (in their estimation), to this and many other curious and unaccountable appearances in the habits of Indians, upon which the world generally looks as things that are absurd and ridiculous, merely because they are beyond the world's comprehension, or because we do not stop to inquire or learn their uses or meaning."

Indian Character Misunderstood. "I find that the principal cause why we so underrate and despise the savage, is generally because we do not understand him; and the reason why we are ignorant of him and his modes, is that we do not stop to investigate—the world have been too much in the habit of looking upon him as altogether inferior—as a beast, a brute; and unworthy of more than a passing notice. If they stop long enough to form an acquaintance, it is but to take advantage of his ignorance and credulities—to rob him of the wealth and resources of his country—to make him drunk with whiskey, and visit him with abuses which in his ignorance he never thought of. By this method his first visitors entirely overlook and never understand the meaning of his thousand interesting and characteristic customs; and at the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

same time, by changing his native modes and habits of life, blot them out from the view of the inquiring world forever.

"It is from the observance of a thousand little and apparently trivial modes and tricks of Indian life, that the Indian character must be learned; and, in fact, it is just the same with us if the subject were reversed; excepting that the system of civilized life would furnish ten apparently useless and ridiculous trifles to one which is found in Indian life; and at least twenty to one which are purely nonsensical and unmeaning.

"The civilized world look upon a group of Indians, in their classic dress, with their few and simple oddities, all of which have their moral meaning, and laugh at them excessively, because they are not like ourselves—we ask, 'why do the silly creatures wear such great bunches of quills on their heads? Such loads and streaks of paint upon their bodies—and bear's grease? Abominable!' And a thousand other equally silly questions, without ever stopping to think that nature taught them to do so—and that they all have some definite importance or meaning which an Indian could explain to us at once, if he were asked and felt disposed to do so—that each quill in his head stood in the eyes of his whole tribe, as the symbol of an enemy who had fallen by his hand—that every streak of red paint covered a wound which he had got in honorable combat—and that the bear's grease, with which he carefully anoints his body every morning, from head to foot, cleanses and purifies the body, and protects his skin from the bite of mosquitoes, and at the same time preserves him from colds and coughs which are usually taken through the pores of the skin.

"At the same time, an Indian looks among the civilized world, no doubt, with equal, if not much greater astonishment, at our apparently, as well as really, ridiculous customs and fashions, but he laughs not, nor ridicules, nor questions, for his good natural sense and good manners forbid him, until he is reclining about the fireside of his wigwam companions, when he vents forth his just criticism upon the learned world, who are a rich and just theme for Indian criticism and Indian gossip.

"An Indian will not ask a white man the reason why he does not oil his skin with bear's grease, or why he does not paint his body, or why he wears a hat on his head, or why he has buttons on the back part of his coat, where they can never be used—or why he wears whiskers and a shirt collar up to his eyes—or why he sleeps with his head towards the fire instead of his feet—why he walks with his toes out instead of turning them in—or why it is that hundreds of white folks will flock and crowd around a table to see an Indian eat—but he will go home to his wigwam fireside, and 'make the welkin ring' with jokes and fun upon the ignorance and folly of the knowing world.

"A wild Indian thrown into civilized atmosphere will see a man occasionally moving in society, wearing a cocked hat; and another with a laced coat and gold or silver epaulettes upon his shoulders, without knowing or inquiring the meaning of them, or the objects for which they are worn. Just so a white man travels amongst a wild and untaught tribe of Indians, and sees occasionally one of them parading about their village, with a head dress of eagles' quills and ermine, and elevated above it a pair of beautifully polished buffalo horns; and just as ignorant is he also, of their meaning or importance; and more so, for the first will admit the presumption that epaulettes and cocked hats amongst the civilized world, are made for some important purpose, but the latter will presume that horns of an Indian's head are nothing more or less (nor can they be in their estimation), than Indian nonsense and stupidity."

Horns Mean Authority. "This custom then, which I have before observed belongs to all the northwestern tribes, is one no doubt of very ancient origin, having a purely classic meaning. No one wears the head dress surmounted with horns except the dignitaries who are very high in authority, and whose exceeding valor, worth and power is admitted by all the nation.

"He may wear them, however, who is not a chief; but a brave, or warrior of such remarkable character, that he is esteemed universally in the tribe, as a man whose 'voice is as loud in council' as that of a chief of the first grade, and consequently his power as great.

"This head dress with horns is used only on certain occasions, and they are very seldom. When foreign chiefs, Indian agents, or other important personages visit a tribe; or at war parades, at the celebration of a victory, at public festivals, etc., they are worn; but on no other occasion—unless, sometimes, when a chief

000 sees fit to lead a war party to battle, he decorates his head with this symbol of power, to stimulate his men, and throws himself into the foremost of the battle, inviting his enemy to concentrate their shafts upon him.

"The horns on these head dresses are but loosely attached at the bottom, so that they easily fall back or forward, according as the head is inclined forward or backward; and by an ingenious motion of the head, which is so slight as to be almost imperceptible, they are made to balance to and fro, and sometimes, one backward and the other forward like a horse's ears, giving a vast deal of expression and force of character, to the appearance of the chief who is wearing them. This, reader, is a remarkable instance, (like hundreds of others), for its striking similarity to Jewish customs, to the kerns (or keren, in Hebrew), the horns worn by the Abysinian chiefs and Hebrews, as a symbol of power and command; worn at great parades and celebrations of victories.

" 'The false prophet Ze-dekiah, made him horns of iron' (Kings XXII. 11) 'Lift not your horns on high; speak not with a stiff neck' (Ps. LXXV. 5.)

"This last citation seems so exactly to convey to my mind the mode of raising and changing the position of the horns by a motion of the head, as I have above described, that I am irresistibly led to believe that the custom is now practiced amongst these tribes very nearly as it was amongst the Jews; and that it has been, like many other customs of which I shall speak more in the future epistles, handed down and preserved with very little innovation or change from that ancient people.

"The reader will see this custom exemplified in the portrait of Mah-to-toh-pa. This man, although the second chief, was the only man in the nation who was allowed to wear horns; and all, I found, looked upon him as the leader, who had the power to lead all the warriors in time of war; and that, in consequence of the extrordinary battles which he had fought." (p. 104.)

In his "Letter No. 15" Catlin, who is awaiting the arrival of the day of celebration of the "Mandan Religious Ceremony," which he is told by the chiefs occurs when the willow tree is "in full leaf," and which event he connects with the flood because the Indians say, "the twig which the bird brought in was a willow

ddd

bough, and had full-grown leaves on it"—tells of his paintings of the Indians and their intense interest in the process, etc.

Portrait Painting—Mandan Astonishment. "I have been continually at work with my brush, with fine and picturesque subjects before me; and from the strange, whimsical, and superstitious notions which they have of an art so novel and unaccountable to them, I have been initiated into many of their mysteries—have witnessed many very curious incidents, and preserved several anecdotes, some of which I must relate.

"Perhaps nothing ever more completely astonished these people than the operations of my brush. The art of portrait painting was a subject entirely new to them, and of course, unthought of; and my appearance here has commenced a new era in the arcana of medicine or mystery. Soon after arriving here, I commenced and finished portraits of the two principal chiefs. This was done without having awakened the curiosity of the villagers, as they had heard nothing of what was going on, and even the chiefs themselves seemed to be ignorant of my designs, until the pictures were completed. No one else was admitted into my lodge during the operation; and when finished, it was exceedingly amusing to see them mutually recognizing each other's likeness, and assuring each other of the striking resemblance which they bore to the originals. Both of these pressed their hands over their mouths a while in dead silence (a custom amongst most tribes, when anything surprises them very much); looking attentively upon the portraits and myself, and upon the palette and colors with which these unaccountable effects had been produced. Then then walked up to me in the most gentle manner, taking me in turn by the hand, with a firm grip, with head and eyes inclined downwards, and in a tone a little above a whisper, pronounced the words 'te-ho-pe-noc wash-ee' and walked off."

Catlin here explains that the above ejaculation meant that he was thereby invested with the degree of a "great medicine white man," since which time he had been "regularly installed medicine or mystery;" that he is now being "called upon and feasted by the doctors, who are all mystery men;" under the weight of which responsibility he "assumes all the gravity and circumspection due from so high a dignitary" and "considerable more"—that

006 by "performing now and then some art or trick that is unfathomable" he hopes to hold out until the "religious ceremony" begins when he may win a seat in the medicine-lodge "by the doctors." He then proceeds:

"After I had finished the portraits of the two chiefs, and they had returned to their wigwams, and deliberately seated themselves by their respective firesides, and silently smoked a pipe or two, (according to a universal custom), they gradually began to tell what had taken place; and at length crowds of gaping listeners, with mouths wide open, thronged their lodges; and a throng of women and girls were about my house, and through every crack and crevice I could see their glistening eyes, which were piercing my hut in a hundred places, from a natural and restless propensity, a curiosity to see what was going on within. An hour or more passed in this way, and the soft and silken throng continually increased, until some hundreds of them were clung and piled about my wigwam like a swarm of bees hanging on the front and sides of their hive.

"During this time, not a man made his appearance about the premises. After a while, however, they could be seen, folded in their robes, gradually siding up towards the lodge, with a silly look upon their faces, which confessed at once that curiosity was leading them reluctantly, where their pride checked and forbade them to go. The rush soon after became general, and the chiefs and medicine men took possession of my room, placing soldiers (braves with spears in their hands), at the door, admitting no one, but such as were allowed by the chiefs to come in."

Paintings Explained. "Monsr. Kipp (the agent of the fur company, who has lived here eight years and to whom, for his politeness and hospitality, I am much indebted), at this time took a seat with the chiefs, and, speaking their language fluently, he explained to them my views and the objects for which I was painting these portraits; and also expounded to them the manner in which they were made—at which they seemed all to be very much pleased. The necessity at this time of exposing the portraits to the view of the crowds who were assembled around the house, became imperative, and they were held up together over the door, so that the whole village had a chance to see and recognize their chiefs. The effect upon so mixed a multitude, who as yet had heard no way of accounting for them, was novel, and really laughable. The likenesses were instantly recognized, and many of the gaping multitude commenced yelping; some were stamping off in the jarring dance—others were singing, and others again were crying—hundreds covered their mouths with their hands and were mute; others indignant, drove their spears frightfully into the ground, and some threw a reddened arrow at the sun, and went home to their wigwams.

Catlin the Great. "The pictures seen, the next curiosity was to see the man who had made them, and I was called forth. Readers, if you have any imagination, save me the trouble of painting this scene. * * * I stepped forth and was instantly hemmed in in the throng. Women were gaping and gazing—and warriors and braves were offering me their hands—whilst little boys and girls, by dozens were struggling through the crowd to touch me with the ends of their fingers; and whilst I was engaged from the waist upwards, in fending off the throng—and shaking hands, my legs were assailed (not unlike the nibbling little fish, when I have been standing in deep water) by children, who were creeping between the legs of the bystanders for the curiosity or honor of touching me with the ends of their fingers. The eager curiosity and expression of astonishment with which they gazed upon me, plainly showed that they looked upon me as some strange and unaccountable being. They pronounced me the greatest medicine man in the world; for they said I had made living beings—they said they could see their chiefs alive, in two places—those that I had made were a little alive—they could see their eyes move—could see them smile and laugh, and that if they could laugh they could certainly speak, if they should try, and they must therefore have some life in them.

"The squaws generally agreed, that they had discovered life enough in them to render my medicine too great for the Mandans; saying that such an operation could not be performed without taking away from the original something of his existence, which I put in the picture, and they could see it move, could see it stir.

"This curtailing of the natural existence, for the purpose of instilling life into the secondary one, they decided to be a useless and destructive operation, and one which was calculated to do great mischief in their happy community; and they com-

commenced a mournful and doleful chant against me crying and weeping bitterly through the village, proclaiming me a most 'dangerous man, one who could make living persons by looking at them; and at the same time could, as a matter of course, destroy life in the same way, if I chose. That my medicine was dangerous to their lives, and that I must leave the village immediately. That bad luck would happen to those whom I painted—that I was to take a part of the existence of those whom I had painted, and carry it home with me amongst the white people, and that when they died they would never sleep quiet in their graves.' "

Oppose His "Medicine." "In this way the women and some old quack-medicine-men together, had succeeded in raising an opposition against me; and the reasons they assigned were so plausible and so exactly suited for their superstitious feelings, that they completely succeeded in exciting fears and a general panic in the minds of a number of chiefs who had agreed to sit for their portraits, and my operations were, of course, for several days completely at a stand still. A grave council was held on the subject from day to day, and there seemed great difficulty in deciding what was to be done with me and the dangerous art which I was practicing; and which had far exceeded their original expectations. I finally got admittance to their sacred conclave, and assured them that I was but a man like themselves—that my art had no **medicine** or mystery about it, but could be learned by them if they would practice it as long as I had—that my intentions towards them were of the most friendly kind, and that in the country where I live, brave men never allowed their squaws to frighten them with their foolish whims and stories. They all immediately arose, shook me by the hand, and dressed themselves for their pictures. After this there was no further difficulty about sitting; all were ready to be painted. The squaws were silent, and my painting room a continual resort for the chiefs, and braves, and medicine-men; where they waited with impatience for the completion of each other's pictures—that they could decide as to the likeness as it came from under the brush; that they could laugh, and yell, and sing a new song, and smoke a fresh pipe to the health and success of him who had just been safely delivered from the hands and the mystic operation of the 'white medicine.' "

Smoking Him Safe. "In each of these operations, as they successfully took place, I observed that a pipe or two were well filled, and as soon as I commenced painting the chiefs and braves, who sat around the sides of the lodge, commenced smoking for the success of the picture (and probably as much or more so for the safe deliverance of the sitter from harm while under the operation;) and so they continued to pass the pipe around until the portrait was completed."

That Catlin could assume the role of the actor with success even when driven to it as an expedient before an Indian audience, is duly attested in his actions while painting these portraits, "stopping occasionally very suddenly as if something was wrong, and taking a tremendous puff or two at the pipe, and streaming the smoke through my nostrils, exhibiting in my looks and actions an evident relief; enabling me to proceed with more facility and success," and by flattery of the respective subjects as they succeeded each other, "and taking them according to rank, or standing, making it a matter of honor with them, which pleased them exceedingly;" in this way proving himself "not guilty" under the indictment of the "women and old quacks;" after which he was elegantly feasted and presented with "a doctor's rattle, and also a magical wand, or a doctor's staff, strung with claws of the grizzly bear, with hoofs of the antelope—with ermine—with wild sage and bat's wings—and perfumed withal with the **choice** and **savory** odor of the pole-cat—a dog was sacrificed and hung by the legs over my wigwam, and I was therefore and thereby initiated into (and countenanced in the practice of) the arcana of medicine or mystery, and considered a fellow of extraordinary society of **conjurati.**" It seems evident that in this counter-process of administering of medicine the Indians came off victors, as the italics are Catlin's own.

Trouble—"The Eyes Move." "Since this signal success and good fortune in my operations, things have gone on very pleasantly, and I have had a great deal of amusement. Some altercation has taken place, however, amongst the chiefs and braves, with regard to standing or rank, of which they are exceedingly jealous; and they must sit (if at all) in regular order, according to that rank; the trouble is all settled at last, however, and I have no want of subjects, though a great many have become again alarmed, and are unwilling to sit, for fear, as some say, that they will die prematurely if painted; and as others say, that if they are painted, the picture will live after they are dead, and they cannot sleep quiet in their graves.

"I have had several most remarkable occurrences in my painting room, of this kind, which have made me some everlasting enemies here; though the minds and feelings of the chiefs and medicine-men have not been affected by them. There had been three or four instances where proud and aspiring young men have been in my lodge, and after gazing at the portraits of the head chiefs across the room (which sits looking them in the eyes,) have raised their hands before their faces and walked around to the side of the lodge, on the right or left, from whence to take a long and fair side-look at the chief, instead of staring him full in the face (which is a most unpardonable offense in all Indian tribes;) and after having got in that position, and cast their eyes again upon the portrait which was yet looking them full in the face, have thrown their robes over their heads and bolted out of the wigwam, filled equally with astonishment and indignation; avering, as they always will in a sullen mood, that 'they saw the eyes move'—that as they walked around the room 'the eyes of the portrait followed them.' With these unfortunate gentleman, repeated efforts have been made by the traders, and also by the chiefs and doctors, who understand the illusion, to convince them of their error, by explaining the mystery; but they will not hear to any explanation whatever, saying, that 'what they see with their eyes is always evidence enough for them,' that they always believe their own eyes sooner than a hundred tongues,' and all efforts to get them a second time to my room, or into my company in any place, has proved entirely unsuccessful."

Trouble with a medicine man, who, not having been given a sitting before Catlin's palette and brush, tried to stampede the assembly, who thronged his studio, by declaring that all who were painted "were fools and would soon die," led to a conference in which Catlin, by playing upon the vanity of the disaffected Indian and convincing him that a revelation from the whole tribe had proven him so extraordinary a character that he (Catlin) would soon paint his portrait, converted him into his confidence and caused him to pronounce Catlin a "good man" whose "medicine is great," and to resolve that he would submit and be "made alive with paints." Catlin then says:

Much-painted Vanity. "At that hour then, bedaubed and streaked with paints of various colors, with bear's grease and charcoal, with medicine pipes in his hands and foxes tails attached to his heels, entered Mah-to-he-hah (the old bear,) with a train of his own profession, who seated themselves around him; and also a number of boys, whom it was requested should remain with him, and whom I supposed it possible might have been pupils, whom he was instructing in the mysteries of materia medica and hoco poca. He took his position in the middle of the room, waving his eagle calumets in each hand, and singing his medicine song which he sings over his dying patient, looking me full in the face while I completed his picture, which I painted at full length. His vanity has been completely gratified in the operation; he lies for hours together, day after day, in my room, in front of his picture, gazing intently upon it, lights my pipe for me while I am painting—shakes hands with me a dozen times on each day, and talks of me, and enlarges upon my medicine virtues and my talents, wherever he goes; so that this new difficulty is now removed, and instead of preaching against me, he is one of my strongest and most enthusiastic friends and aids in the country." (p. 111.)

Catlin next enlarges upon the elements of Indian dandies among the Mandans; relates how he was preparing to paint a picture of one of them, which met with protests among the more respectable Indians. He then narrates a feast given to him by Four Bears, "the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans," served in three courses and embracing "pemican and marrow-fat;" mentioning incidentally the pottery dishes used at the feast and which he declares are such as are made by the Mandan women in large quantities. We recur to his text:

Indian Dandies. "Besides chiefs, and braves and doctors, of whom I have heretofore spoken, there is yet another character of whom I must say a few words before I proceed on other topics. The person I allude to, is the one mentioned at the close of my last letter, and familiarly known and countenanced in every tribe as an Indian beaux or dandy. Such personages may be seen on

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 every pleasant day, strutting and parading around the village in the most beautiful and unsoiled dresses, without the honorable trophies however of scalp locks and claws of the grizzly bear, attached to their costumes, for with such things they deal not. They are not peculiarly anxious to hazard their lives in equal and honorable combat with the one, or disposed to cross the path of the other; but generally remain about the village, to take care of the women, and attire themselves in the skins of such animals as they can easily kill, without seeking the rugged cliffs for the war eagle, or visiting the haunts of the grizzly bear. They plume themselves with swan's-down and quills of ducks, with braids and plaits of sweet scented grass and other harmless and unmeaning ornaments, which have no other merit than they themselves have, that of looking pretty and ornamental.

"These clean and elegant gentlemen, who are very few in each tribe, are held in very little estimation by the chiefs and braves; inasmuch as it is known by all, that they have a most horrible aversion to arms, and are denominated "faint hearts" or "old women" by the whole tribe, and are therefore little respected. They seem, however, to be tolerably well contented with the appellation, together with the celebrity they have acquired amongst the women and children for the beauty and elegance of their personal appearance; and most of them seem to take and enjoy their share of the world's pleasures, although they are looked upon as drones in society.

"These gay and tinseled bucks may be seen on a pleasant day in all their plumes, astride of their pied or dappled ponies, with a fan in the right hand, made of a turkey's tail—with whip and fly-brush attached to the wrist of the same hand, and underneath them a white and beautiful and soft pleasure saddle, ornamented with porcupine quills and ermine, parading through and lounging about the village for an hour or so, when they will cautiously bend their course to the suburbs of the town, where they will sit or recline upon their horses for an hour or two, overlooking the beautiful games where the braves and young aspirants are contending the manly and athletic amusements. When they are fatigued with this severe effort, they wend their way back again, lift off their fine white saddles of doe skin, which is wadded with buffalo's hair, turn out their ponies, take a little refreshment,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

smoke a pipe, fan themselves to sleep, and doze away the rest of the day. 300

"Whilst I have been painting, from day to day, there have been two or three of these fops continually strutting and taking their attitudes in front of my door; decked out in all their finery, without receiving other benefit or other information, than such as they could discover through the cracks and seams of my cabin. The chiefs, I observed, passed them by without notice and of course without inviting them in; and they seemed to figure about my door from day to day in their best dresses and best attitudes, as if in hopes that I would select them as models, for my canvas. It was natural that I should do so, for their costumes and personal appearance was entirely more beautiful than anything else to be seen in the village. My plans were laid, and one day when I had got through with all the head men, who were willing to sit to be painted, and there were two or three chiefs lounging in my room, I stepped to the door and tapped one of these fellows on the shoulder, who took the hint and stepped in, well pleased and delighted with the signal and honorable notice I had at length taken of him and his beautiful dress. Readers, you cannot imagine what was the expression of gratitude which beamed forth on this poor fellow's face, and how high his heart beat with joy and pride at the idea of my selecting him to be immortal, alongside of the chiefs and worthies whose portraits he saw arranged around the room; and by which honor he, undoubtedly, considered himself well paid for two or three weeks of regular painting, and greasing, and dressing, and standing alternately on one leg and the other at the door of my premises.

"Well, I placed him before me, and a canvas on my easel, and 'chalked him out' at full length. He was truly a beautiful subject for the brush, and I was filled with enthusiasm—his dress from head to foot was of the skins of the mountain goat, and dressed so neatly, that they were almost as soft and as white as Canton crape—around the bottom and sides it was trimmed with ermine and porcupine quills of beautiful dyes garnished it in a hundred parts; his hair, which was long, and spread over his back and shoulders, extending nearly to the ground, was all combed back and parted on his forehead like that of a woman. He was a tall and fine figure, with ease and grace in his movements, which were

000 well worthy of a man of better caste. In his left hand he held a beautiful pipe, and in his right hand he plied his fan, and on his wrist was still attached his whip of elk's horn, and his fly-brush made of the buffalo's tail. There was nought about him of the terrible, and naught to shock the finest, chastest intellect.

"I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few minutes the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus: 'My God, sir, this never will do; you have given great offense to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear sir, and the quicker this chap is put out of your lodge the better.'

"The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequental smile, taking his old position in front of the door a while, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honor of being painted; and so little do they value man, however lavishly nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

Four Bears Again. "I spoke in a former letter, of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions, some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, which otherwise might not have been noted.

"About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting room about twelve o'clock in the day in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and lead me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and awaited our arrival. The lodge in which he dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the center, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics, and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us.

"The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in the shape of a bread tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of pem-i-can and marrow fat; and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully roasted, and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of the flour of the 'pomme blanche,' as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavored with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currents, which they very much resemble.

"A handsome pipe and a tobacco pouch made of the otter skin, filled with k'nick-k'nick (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it, and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words 'ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee' (meaning a medicine sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

"He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed

000 that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered to a guest.) Reader be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner alone, for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparations, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'nick, or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the 'castor,' which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco sack to give it a flavor; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom) which was like tinder; having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

Clay Dishes, etc. "I spoke also of the earthen dishes or bowls in which these viands were served out. They are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modeled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery; though they have not yet got the art of glazing, which would be to them a valuable secret. They make them so strong and serviceable, however, that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success. I have seen some few specimens of such manufacture, which have been dug up in Indian mounds

1: DeLand 0-4 (~~No~~ date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

300

and tombs in the southern and middle states, placed in our eastern museums and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery; where women can be seen handling them and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer also, moulding them into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kiln where they are hardened." (p. 116.)

Mandan Polygamists. "In the succeeding chapter Catlin refers to the practice of polygamy among the Mandans—a practice "countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians" visited by him. This practice, he says, arose in part from the necessity of a chief's having a sufficiency of menial servants "to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries' of an establishment in which liberal entertainment was an incident, in part in order to procure through their services the luxuries of wealth; another prominent ascribed reason being the necessity of replenishing the stock which was from time to time depleted among the warriors in the vicissitudes of warfare. The wives, he declares, were purchased, mostly from the father. On this head he says:

"There are other instances to be sure, where the parties approach each other, and from the expression of a mutual fondness, make their own arrangements, and pass their own mutual vows, which are quite as sacred and inviolable as similar assurances when made in the civilized world. Yet even in such cases, the marriage is never consummated without the necessary form of making presents to the father of the girl." (p. 120.)

Catlin then remarks upon the practice of the fur traders who come among the Indians and who, "from policy and almost of absolute necessity," connect themselves by marriage with "the most influential families in the tribe"; adding: "The young women of the best families only can aspire to such an elevation; and the most of them are exceedingly ambitious for such a connection." He regards this character of connection, however, as one which "can scarcely be called marriages," and as generally entered into "without the form of solemnizing ceremony of a marriage." He then moralizes upon the condition of the Indian woman, as follows:

"From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally

000

think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians." He thus summarizes upon the Mandan women preparatory to giving a specific account of their numerous burdensome duties, etc.:

"Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest, and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls." The girls, he affirms, "like those of most of these northwestern tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years." (pp. 120-21.) He proceeds:

Women Agriculturalists—Utensils. "The principal occupation of the women in this village, consists in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize.) The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturalists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of plowing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labor. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are no larger than a man's thumb. This variety is very well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

their crop is eaten during these festivals, and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in 'caches' (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or seven feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these caches, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters. 000

Corn and Meat. "Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food during the long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried 'pommes blanches,' a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have spoken before. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, strawberries, and wild plums."

Hospitality—Meals. "The buffalo meat however is the great staple or 'staff of life' in this country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and wholesome means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, etc.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I find, have no regular stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can be properly called more humane or charitable. Every man, woman or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is too lazy to hunt or supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

"The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather with their ankles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a reclining posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and forearm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture.

"The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position, and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

"These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so graceful and beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet traveled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do.

Moderate Eaters. "It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the

000

Indians are 'enormous eaters;' but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians,) who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honor, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggered part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps sold it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defense, or struggle for the prize in their manly games.

"As I before observed, these men generally eat but twice a day, and many times not more than once, and those meals are light and simple compared with the meals that are swallowed in the civilized world; and by the very people also, who sit at the festive board three times a day, making a jest of the Indian for his eating, when they actually guzzle more liquids, besides their eating, than would fill the stomach of an Indian.

"There are, however, many seasons and occasions in the year with all Indians, when they fast for several days in succession; and others where they can get nothing to eat and at such times (their habits are such) they may be seen to commence with an enormous meal, and because they do so, it is an insufficient reason why we should forever remain under so egregious an error with regard to a single custom of these people.

000

"I have seen so many of these, and lived with them, and traveled with them, and oftentimes felt as if I should starve to death on an equal allowance, that I am fully convinced I am correct in saying that the North American Indians, taking them in the aggregate, even where they have an abundance to subsist on, eat less than any civilized population of equal numbers, that I have ever traveled amongst.

Curing Meat. "Their mode of curing and preserving the buffalo meat is somewhat curious, and in fact it is almost incredible also; for it is all cured or dried in the sun, without the aid of salt or smoke. The method of doing this is the same amongst all the tribes, from this to the Mexican provinces, and this is as follows: The choicest part of the flesh from the buffalo are cut out by the squaws, and carried home on their backs or on horses, and there 'cut across the grain,' in such a manner as will take alternately the layers of lean and fat; and having prepared it all in this way, in strips about half an inch in thickness, it is hung up by hundreds and thousands of pounds on poles resting on crotches, out of the reach of dogs or wolves, and exposed to the rays of the sun for several days, when it becomes so effectually dried, that it can be carried to any part of the world without damage. This seems almost an unaccountable thing, and the more so, as it is done in the hottest months of the year, and also in all the different latitudes of an Indian country.

"So singular a fact as this can only be accounted for, I consider, on the ground of the extraordinary rarity and purity of the air which we meet with in these vast tracts of country, which are now properly denominated 'the great buffalo plains', a series of exceedingly elevated plateaus or steppes or prairies, lying at and near the base of the Rocky mountains.

"It is a fact then, which I presume will be new to most of the world, that meat can be cured in the sun without the aid of smoke or salt; and it is a fact equally true and equally surprising also, that none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs; and in many places, in the frequent walks of the Indian, the prairie may be seen, for miles together, covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow.

"I have, in traveling with the Indians, encamped by such places, where they have cooked and eaten their meat, when I have been unable to prevail on them to use salt in any quantity whatever. The Indians cook their meat more than the civilized people do, and I have long since learned, from necessity, that meat thus cooked can easily be eaten and relished too, without salt or other condiment.

"The fact above asserted applies exclusively to those tribes of Indians which I have found in their primitive state, living entirely on meat; but everywhere along our frontier, where the game of the country has long since been destroyed, and these people have become semi-civilized, raising and eating as we do, a variety of vegetable food, they use (and no doubt require) a great deal of salt; and in many instances use it even to destructive excess." (p. 125.)

*This is a well known fact, as proven by common experience among the Indians in the farther prairie west and northwest. (De. L.)

Catlin's next chapter enters into the subject of Mandan dances and songs; in which he gives the results of close observation and some study into the genius of the Indian instinct and purpose regarding such practices, which, as shown, sometimes become duties in emergencies. He relates as incidental to one of their "dances for buffalo" a shrewd and successful stratagem of the Sioux by which the Mandans were misled to suppose they had discovered buffalo, only to find themselves surrounded by Sioux who had posed at a distance as those animals:

Dances and Songs. "The Mandans, like all the other tribes, lead lives of idleness and leisure; and of course, devote a great deal of time to their sports and amusements, of which they have a great variety. Of these, dancing is one of the principal, and may be seen in a variety of forms; such as the buffalo dance, the boasting dance, the begging dance, the scalp dance, and a dozen other kinds of dances, all of which have their peculiar characters and meanings or objects.

"These exercises are exceedingly grotesque in their appearance, and to the eye of a traveler who knows not their meaning or importance, they are an uncouth and frightful display of starts, and jumps, and yelps, and jarring gutturals, which are sometimes truly terrifying. But when one gives them a little

000 attention, and has been lucky enough to be initiated into their mysterious meaning, they become a subject of the most intense and exciting interest. Every dance has its peculiar step, and every step has its meaning; every dance also has its peculiar song, and that is so intricate and mysterious oftentimes, that not one in ten of the young men who are dancing and singing it, know the meaning of the song which they are chanting over. None but the medicine-men are allowed to understand them; and even they are generally only initiated into these secret arcana, on the payment of a liberal stipend for their tuition, which requires much application and study. There is evidently a set song and sentiment for every dance, for the songs are perfectly measured, and sung in exact time with the beat of the drum; and always with a uniform and invariable set of sounds and expressions, which clearly indicate certain sentiments, which are expressed by the voice, though sometimes not given in any known language whatever.

"They have other dances and songs which are not so mystified, but which are sung and understood by every person in the tribe, being sung in their own language, with much poetry in them, and perfectly metered, but without rhyme. On these subjects I shall take another occasion to say more; and will for the present turn your attention to the style and modes in which some of these curious transactions are conducted.

"My ears have been almost continually ringing since I came here, with the din of yelping, and beating of the drums; but I have for several days past been peculiarly engrossed, and my senses almost confounded with the stamping, and grunting, and bellowing of the buffalo dance, which closed a few days since at sun rise (thank Heaven), and which I must needs describe to you.

Dance for Buffalo. "Buffalo, as is known, are a sort of roaming creatures, congregating occasionally in huge masses, and strolling away about the country, from east to west, or from north to south, or just where their whims or strange fancies may lead them; and the Mandans are sometimes, by this means, most unceremoniously left without anything to eat; and being a small tribe, and unwilling to risk their lives by going far from home in the face of their more powerful enemies, are oftentimes left in almost a state of starvation. In any emergency of this kind, every man

0C0

musters and brings out of his lodge his mask (the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns on), which he is obliged to keep in readiness for this occasion; and then commences the buffalo dance, of which I have above spoken, which is held for the purpose of making the 'buffalo come' (as they term it), of inducing the buffalo herds to change the direction of their wanderings, and bend their course towards the Mandan village, and graze about on the beautiful hills and bluffs in its vicinity, where the Mandans can shoot them down and cook them as they want them for food.

"For the most part of the year, the young warriors and hunters, by riding out a mile or two from the village can kill meat in abundance; and sometimes large herds of these animals may be seen grazing in full view of the village. There are other seasons also when the young men have ranged about the country as far as they are willing to risk their lives, on account of their enemies, without finding meat. This sad intelligence is brought back to the chiefs and doctors, who sit in solemn council, and consult on the most expedient measures to be taken, until they are sure to decide upon the old and only expedient which 'never has failed.'

"The chief issues his orders to his runners or cryers, who proclaim it through the village—and in a few minutes the dance begins. The place where this strange operation is carried on is in the public arena in the center of the village, and in front of the great medicine or mystery lodge. About ten or fifteen Mandans at a time join in the dance, each one with the skin of the buffalo's head (or mask) with the horns on, placed over his head, and in his hand his favorite bow or lance, with which he is used to slay the buffalo.

"I mentioned that this dance always had the desired effect, that it never fails, nor can it, for it cannot be stopped (but is going incessantly day and night) until 'buffalo come.' Drums are beating and rattles are shaken, and songs and yells incessantly are shouted, and lookers-on stand ready with masks on their heads, and weapons in hand, to take the place of each one as he becomes fatigued, and jumps out of the ring.

"During this time of general excitement, spies or 'lookers' are kept on the hills in the neighborhood of the village, who when they discover buffaloes in sight, give the appropriate signal, by 'throwing their robes,' which is instantly seen in the village, and

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 understood by the whole tribe. At this joyful intelligence there is a shout of thanks to the Great Spirit, and more especially to the mystery man, and the dancers, who have been the immediate cause of their success. There is then a brisk preparation for the chase—a grand hunt takes place. The choicest pieces of the victims are sacrificed to the Great Spirit, and then a surfeit and a carouse. These dances have sometimes been continued in this village two and three weeks without stopping an instant, until the joyful moment when buffalos make their appearance. So they never fail; and they think they have been the means of bringing them in.

"Every man in the Mandan village (as I have before said) is obliged by a village regulation, to keep the mask of the buffalo, hanging on a post at the head of his bed, which he can use on his head whenever he is called upon by the chiefs, to dance for the coming of buffalos. The mask is put over the head, and generally has a strip of the skin hanging to it, of the whole length of the animal, with the tail attached to it, which passing down over the back of the dancer, is dragging on the ground. When one becomes fatigued of the exercise, he signifies it by bending quite forward, and sinking his body towards the ground; then another draws a bow upon him and hits him with a blunt arrow, and he falls like a buffalo—is seized by the by-standers, who drag him out of the ring by the heels, brandishing their knives about him; and having gone through the motions of skinning and cutting him up, they let him off, and his place is at once supplied by another, who dances into the ring with his mask on; and by this taking of places the scene is easily kept up night and day, until the desired effect has been produced, that of 'making the buffalo come.'"

Entrapped by Sioux. "The day before yesterday however, readers, which though it commenced in joy and thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for the signal success which had attended their several days of dancing and supplication, ended in a calamity which threw the Mandans into mourning and repentant tears, and that at a time of scarcity and great distress. The signal was given into the village on that morning from the top of a distant bluff, that a band of buffalos were in sight, though at a considerable distance off, and every heart beat with joy, and every eye watered and glistened with gladness. 000

"The dance had lasted some three or four days, and now instead of the doleful tap of the drum and the begging chants of the dancers, the stamping of horses was heard as they were led and galloped through the village—young men were throwing off their robes and their shirts—were seen snatching a handful of arrows from their quivers, and stringing their sinewy bows, glancing their eyes and their smiles at their sweathearts, and mounting their ponies.

"A few minutes there had been of bustle and boasting, whilst bows were twanging and spears were polishing by running their blades into the ground—every face and every eye was filled with joy and gladness—horses were pawing and snuffing in fury for the outset, when Louison Frenier, an interpreter of the fur company, galloped through the village with his rifle in his hand and his powder horn at his side; his head and waist were bandaged with handkerchiefs, and his short sleeves rolled up to his shoulders—the hunter's yell issued from his lips and was repeated through the village; he flew to the bluffs, and behind him and over the graceful swells of the prairie, galloped the emulous youths, whose hearts were beating high and quick for the onset.

"In the village, where hunger had reigned, and starvation was almost ready to look them in the face, all was instantly turned to joy and gladness. The chiefs and doctors who had been for several days dealing out minimum rations to the community from the public crib, now spread before their subjects the contents of their own private caches, and the last of everything that could be mustered, that they might eat a thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for his goodness in sending them a supply of buffalo meat. A general carouse of banqueting ensued, which occupied the greater part of the day; and their hidden stores which might have fed an emergency for several weeks, were pretty nearly used up on the occasion—bones were half picked, and dishes half emptied and then handed to the dogs. I was not forgotten neither, in the general surfeit; several large and generous wooden bowls of pemican and other palatable food were sent to my painting room, and I received them in this time of scarcity with great pleasure.

"After this general indulgence was over, and the dogs had

000

licked the dishes, their usual games and amusements ensued—and hilarity and mirth, and joy took possession of, and reigned in every nook and corner of the village; and in the midst of this, screams and shrieks were heard, and echoed everywhere. Women and children scrambled to the tops of their wigwams, with their eyes and their hands stretched in agonizing earnestness to the prairie, whilst blackened warriors ran furiously through every winding maze of the village, and issuing their jarring gutturals of vengeance, as they snatched their deadly weapons from their lodges, and struck the reddened post as they furiously passed it by!

"Two of their hunters were bending their course down the sides of the bluff towards the village, and another broke suddenly out of a deep ravine, and yet another was seen dashing over and down the green hills, and all were goading on their horses at full speed. And then came another, and another, and all entered the village amid shouts and groans of the villagers who crowded around them; the story was told in their looks, for one was bleeding, and the blood that flowed from his naked breast had crimsoned his milk white steed as it had dripped over him; another grasped in his left hand a scalp that was reeking in blood—and in the other his whip—another grasped nothing, save the reins in one hand and the mane of his horse in the other, having thrown his bow and arrows away, and trusted to the fleetness of his horse for his safety; yet the story was audibly told, and the fatal tragedy recited in irregular and almost suffocating ejaculations—the names of the dead were in turns pronounced and screams and shrieks burst forth at their recital—murmurs and groans ran through the village, and this happy little community were in a moment smitten with sorrow and distraction.

"Their proud band of hunters who had started out full of glee and mirth in the morning, had been surrounded by their enemy, the Sioux, and eight of them killed. The Sioux, who had probably reconnoitered their village during the night, and ascertained that they were dancing for buffalos, laid a stratagem to entrap them in the following manner: Some six or eight of them appeared the next morning (on a distant bluff, in the sight of the sentinel) under the skins of buffalos, imitating the movements of these animals while grazing; and being discovered by the sen-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

tinel, the intelligence was telegraphed to the village, which brought out their hunters as I have described. The masked buffalos were seen grazing on the top of a high bluff, and when the hunters had approached within half a mile or so of them, they suddenly disappeared over the hill. Louison Frenier, who was leading a little band of hunters, became at that moment suspicious of so strange a movement, and came to a halt. * * *

"'Look,' said a Mandan, pointing to a little ravine to the right, and at the foot of the hill, from which suddenly broke some forty or fifty furious Sioux, on fleet horses and under full whip, who were rushing upon them; they wheeled, and in front of them came another band more furious from the other side of the hill. They started for home (poor fellows), and strained every nerve; but the Sioux were too fleet for them; and every now and then the whizzing arrows and the lance were heard to rip the flesh of their naked backs, and a grunt and a groan, as they tumbled from their horses. Several miles were run in this desperate race; and Frenier got home, and several of the Mandans, though eight of them were killed and scalped by the way.

"So ended that day and the hunt; but many a day and sad, will last the grief of those whose hearts were broken on that unlucky occasion.

"This day, though, my readers, has been one of a more joyful kind, for the Great Spirit, who was indignant at so flagrant an injustice, has sent the Mandans an abundance of buffalos; and all hearts have joined in a general thanksgiving to Him for his goodness and justice." (p. 130.)

Boys' Sham-fight, Etc. "In my last letter I gave an account of the buffalo dance, and in future epistles may give some description of a dozen other kinds of dance, which these people have in common with other tribes; but in the present letter I shall make an endeavor to confine my observations to several other customs and forms, which are very curious and peculiar to the Mandans.

"Of these, one of the most pleasing is the sham-fight and sham scalp-dance of the Mandan boys, which is part of their regular exercise, and constitutes a material branch of their education. During the pleasant mornings of the summer, the little boys between the ages of seven and fifteen are called out, to the number of several hundred, and being divided into two companies, each

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 of which is headed by some experienced warrior, who leads them on, in the character of a teacher; they are led out into the prairie at sunrise, where this curious discipline is regularly taught them. Their bodies are naked, and each one has a little bow in his left hand and a number of arrows made of large spears of grass, which are harmless in their effects. Each one also has a little belt or girdle around his waist, in which he carries a knife made of a piece of wood and equally harmless—on the tops of their heads are slightly attached small tufts of grass, which answer as scalps, and in this plight, they follow the dictates of their experienced leaders, who lead them through the judicious evolutions of Indian warfare—of feints—of retreats—of attacks—and at last to a general fight. Many maneuvers are gone through, and eventually they are brought up face to face within fifteen or twenty feet of each other, with their leaders at their head stimulating them on. Their bows are bent upon each other and their missiles flying, whilst they are dodging and fending them off.

"If any one is struck with an arrow in any vital part of his body, he is obliged to fall, and his adversary rushes up to him, places his foot upon him, and snatching from his belt his wooden knife, grasps hold of his victim's scalp-lock of grass, and making a feint at it with his wooden knife, twitches it off and puts it into his belt and enters again into the ranks and front of battle.

"This mode of training generally lasts an hour or more in the morning and is performed on an empty stomach, affording them a rigid and wholesome exercise, whilst they are instructed in the importance science of war. Some five or six miles of ground are run over during these evolutions, giving suppleness to their limbs and strength to their muscles, which last and benefit them through life.

"After this exciting exhibition is ended, they all return to their village where the chiefs and braves pay profound attention to their vaunting and applaud them for their artifice and valour.

"Those who have taken scalps then step forward, brandishing them and making their boast as they enter into the scalp dance (in which they are also instructed by their leaders or teachers) jumping and yelling, brandishing their scalps and reciting their sanguinary deeds to the great astonishment of their tender aged sweethearts, who are gazing with wonder upon them.

Games and Tchug-kee. "The games and amusements of these people are in most respects like those of other tribes, consisting of ball plays, game of the moccasin, of the platter feats, of archery, horse racing, etc., and they have yet another which may be said to be their favorite amusement, and unknown to the other tribes about them—the game of Tchug-kee, a beautiful and athletic exercise, which they seem to be almost unceasingly practicing whilst the weather is fair, and they have nothing else of moment to demand their attention. This game is decidedly their favorite amusement, and is played near to the village on a pavement of clay, which has been used for that purpose until it has become as smooth and hard as a floor. For this game two champions form their respective parties by choosing alternately the most famous players, until their requisite numbers are made up. Their bettings are then made, and their stakes are held by some of the chiefs or others present. The play commences with two (one from each party) who start off on a trot, abreast of each other, and one of them rolls in advance of them on the pavement a little ring of two or three inches in diameter, cut out of a stone; and each one follows it up with his 'tchug-kee' a stick of six feet in length with little bits of leather projecting from its sides of an inch or more in length, which he throws before him as he runs, sliding it along upon the ground after the ring, endeavoring to place it in such a position when it stops that the ring may fall upon it, and receive one of the little projections of leather through it, which counts for game, one, or two, or four, according to the position of the leather on which the ring is lodged. The last winner always has the rolling of the ring, and both start and throw the tchug-kee together. If either fails to receive the ring or to lie in a certain position, it is a forfeiture of the amount of the number he was nearest to and he loses his throw, when another steps into his place. This game is a very difficult one to describe so as to give an exact idea of it, unless one can see it played. It is a game of great beauty and fine bodily exercise, and these people become excessively fascinated with it, often gambling away everything they possess, and even sometimes when everything else was gone, have been known to stake their liberty upon the issues of these games, offering themselves as slaves to their opponents in case they get beaten.

000

"**Feasting and fasting** are important customs observed by the Mandans, as well as by most other tribes, at stated times and for particular purposes. These observations are strictly religious and rigidly observed. There are many of these forms practiced amongst the Mandans, some of which are exceedingly interesting and important also, in forming a correct estimate of the Indian character, and I shall at a future period take particular pains to lay them before my readers.

"**Sacrificing** is also a religious custom with these people and is performed in many different modes and numerous occasions. Of this custom I shall also speak more fully hereafter, merely noticing at present some few of the hundred modes in which these offerings are made to the good and evil spirits. Human sacrifices have never been made by the Mandans, nor by any of the Northwestern tribes (so far as I can learn) excepting the Pawnees of the Platte, who have, undoubtedly, observed such an inhuman practice in the former times, though they have relinquished it of late. The Mandans sacrificed their fingers to the Great Spirit, and of their wordly goods, the best and most costly. If a horse or a dog it must be the favorite one; if it is an arrow from their quiver they will select the most perfect one as the most effective gift; if it is meat it is the choicest piece cut from the buffalo or other animal; if it is anything from the stores of the traders, it is the most costly—it is blue or scarlet cloth, which costs them in this country an enormous price, and is chiefly used for the purpose of hanging over their wigwams to decay, or to cover the scaffolds where rest the bones of their departed relations.

"Of these kinds of sacrifices there are three of an interesting nature, erected over the great medicine lodge in the center of the village—they consist of ten or fifteen yards of blue and black cloth each, purchased from the fur company at fifteen or twenty dollars per yard, which are folded up so as to resemble human figures, with quills in their heads and masks on their faces. These singular looking figures, like scare crows are erected on poles about thirty feet high, over the door of the mystery lodge, and there are left to decay. There hangs now by the side of them another, which was added to the number a few days since, of the skin of the white buffalo, which will remain there until it decays and falls to pieces.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

White Robe. "This beautiful and costly skin, when its history is known, will furnish a striking proof of the importance which they attach to these propitiatory offerings. But a few weeks since a party of Mandans returned from the mouth of the Yellowstone, two hundred miles above, with information that a party of Blackfeet were visiting that place on business with the American Fur Company; and that they had with them a white buffalo robe for sale. This was looked upon as a subject of great importance by the chiefs, and one worthy of public consideration. A white buffalo robe is a great curiosity, even in the country of buffalos, and will always command an almost incredible price, from its extreme scarcity; and then, from its being the most costly article of traffic in these regions, it is usually converted into a sacrifice, being offered to the Great Spirit, as the most acceptable gift that can be procured. Amongst the vast herds of buffalo which graze in these boundless prairies, there is not one in a hundred thousand, perhaps, that is white, and when such a one is obtained, it is considered great medicine or mystery.

"On the receipt of the intelligence above mentioned, the chiefs convened in council, and deliberated on the expediency of procuring the white robe from the Blackfeet; and also of appropriating the requisite means, and devising the proper mode of procedure for effecting the purchase. At the close of their deliberations, eight men were fitted out on eight of their best horses, who took from the fur company's store, on the credit of the chiefs, goods exceeding even the value of their eight horses; and they started for the mouth of the Yellowstone, where they arrived in due time, and made the purchase, by leaving the eight horses and all the goods which they carried; returning on foot to their own village, bringing home with them the white robe, which was looked upon by all eyes of the villagers as a thing that was vastly curious, and containing (as they expressed it) something of the Great Spirit. This wonderful anomaly laid for several days in the chief's lodge, until public curiosity was gratified; and then it was taken by the doctors or high priests, and with a great deal of form and mystery consecrated, and raised on the top of a long pole over the medicine lodge; where it now stands in a group with the others, and will stand as an offering to the Great Spirit, until it decays and falls to the ground."

000

Here Catlin ends a chapter by relating the exploits of another professional among the Mandans.

The "Rain Maker." "Readers, did you ever hear of '**Rain Makers?**' If not, sit still, and read on; but laugh not—keep cool and sober, or else you may laugh in the **beginning** and cry at the **end** of my story. Well, I introduce you to a new character—not a **doctor** or a **high priest**, yet a **medicine-man**, and one of the highest and most respectable order, a 'Rain Maker.' Such dignitaries live in the Mandan nation, aye, and '**Rain Stoppers**,' too; and even those also amongst their **conjurati**, who, like Joshua of old, have even essayed to stop the sun in his course; but from the inefficiency of their medicine or mystery, have long since descended into insignificance.

"Well the story begins thus: The Mandans, as I have said in a former letter, raise a great deal of corn; and sometimes a most disastrous drought will be visited on the land, destructive to their promised harvest. Such was the case when I arrived at the Mandan village on the steamboat, Yellowstone. Rain had not fallen for many a day, and the dear little girls and the ugly old squaws, together (all of whom had fields of corn), were groaning and crying to their lords, and imploring them to intercede for rain, that their little respective patches, which were now turning pale and yellow, might not be withered, and they be deprived of the pleasure of their customary annual festivity, and the joyful occasion of the 'roasting ears', and the 'green corn dance.'

"The chiefs and doctors sympathized with the plaints of the women, and recommended patience. Great deilberation,' they said, was necessary in these cases; and though they resolved on making the attempt to produce rain for the benefit of the corn; yet they very wisely resolved that to begin too soon might insure their entire defeat in the endeavor; and that the longer they put it off, the more certain they would feel of ultimate success. So, after a few days of further delay, when the importunities of the women had become clamorous, and even mournful, and almost insupportable, the medicine-men assembled in the council house, with all their mystery apparatus about them—with an abundance of wild sage, and other aromatic herbs, with a fire prepared to burn them—that their savory odors might be sent forth to the Great Spirit. The lodge was closed to all the villagers, except some ten or fifteen young men, who were willing to hazard the

000

dreadful alternative of making it rain, or suffer the everlasting disgrace of having made a fruitless essay.

"They, only, were allowed as witnesses to the **hocus pocus** and **conjuration** devised by the doctors inside of the medicine lodge; and they were called up by lot, each one in his turn, to spend a day upon the top of the lodge, to test the potency of his medicine; or, in other words, to see how far his voice might be heard and obeyed amongst the clouds of the heavens; whilst the doctors were burning incense in the wigwam below, and with their songs and prayers to the Great Spirit for success, were sending forth grateful fumes and odors to Him 'who lives in the sun and commands the thunders of Heaven.' Wah-kee (the shield) was the first who ascended the wigwam at sunrise; and he stood all day and looked foolish, as he was counting over and over his string of mystery beads—the whole village were assembled around him and praying for his success. Not a cloud appeared, the day was calm and hot; and at the setting of the sun, he dedescended from the lodge and went home—'his **medicine** was not good,' nor can he ever be a **medicine man.**

"Om-pah (the elk) was the next; he ascended the lodge at sunrise the next morning. His body was entirely naked, being covered with a yellow clay. On his left arm he carried a beautiful shield, and a long lance in his right, and on his head the skin of a raven, the bird that soars amidst the clouds, and above the lightning's glare—he flourished his shield and brandished his lance, and raised his voice, but in vain; for at sunset the ground was dry and the sky was clear; the squaws were crying, and their corn was withering at its roots.

"War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next; he also spent his breath in vain upon the empty air, and came down at night—and Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair) took the stand the next morning. He is a small, but beautifully proportioned young man. He was dressed in a tunic and leggins of the skins of the Mountain sheep, splendily garnished with quills of the porcupine, and fringed with locks of hair taken by his own hand from the heads of his enemies. On his arm he carried his shield, made of the buffalo's hide—its boss was the head of the war eagle—and its front was ornamented with 'red chains of lightning.' In his left hand he clenched his sinewy bow and one single arrow. The villagers were all gathered about him when he threw up a feather

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 to decide on the course of the wind, and he commenced thus: 'My friends! People of the pheasants! You see me here a sacrifice—I shall this day relieve you from great distress, and bring joy amongst you; or I shall descend from this lodge when the sun goes down, and live amongst the dogs and old women all my days. My friends! You see which way the feather blew, and I hold my shield this day in the direction where the wind comes—the lightning on my shield will draw a great cloud, and this arrow which is selected from my quiver, and which is feathered with the quill of the white swan, will make a hole in it. My friends! This hole in the lodge at my feet, shows me the medicine-men, who are seated in the lodge below me and crying to the Great Spirit, and through it comes and passes into my nose delightful odors, which you see rising in the smoke to the Great Spirit above, who rides in the clouds and commands the winds. Three days they have sat here, my friends, and nothing has been done to relieve your distress. On the first day was Wah-kee (the shield), he could do nothing; he counted his beads and came down—his medicine was not good—his name was bad, and it kept off the rain. The next was Om-pah (the elk); on his head the raven was seen, who flies **above** the storm, and he failed. War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next, my friends; the beaver lives under the water, and he never wants it to rain. My friends I see you are in great distress, and nothing has yet been done; this shield belonged to my father, the White Buffalo; and the lightning you see on it is red; it was taken from a black cloud, and that cloud will come over us today. I am the White Buffalo's hair—and I am the son of my father.'

"In this manner flourished and maneuvered Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), alternately addressing the audience and the Heavens—and holding converse with the winds and the **'je-bi'** (spirits) that are floating about in them—stamping his foot over the heads of the **Magi,** who were envolved in mysteries beneath him, and invoking the spirits of darkness and light to send rain, to gladden the hearts of the Mandans.

Steam Spook. "It happened on this memorable day about noon, that the steamboat Yellowstone, on her first trip up the Missouri river, approached and landed at the Mandan village, as I have described in a former epistle. I was lucky enough to be a passenger on this boat, and helped to fire a salute of twenty

000

guns of twelve pounds calibre, when we first came in sight of the village, some three or four miles below. These guns introduced a new sound into this strange country, which the Mandans at first supposed to be thunder; and the young man upon the lodge, who turned it to good account, was gathering fame in rounds of applause, which were repeated and echoed through the whole village; all eyes were centered upon him—chiefs envied him—mother's hearts were beating high whilst they were decorating and leading up their fair daughters to offer him in marriage, on his signal success. The medicine-men had left the lodge, and come up to bestow upon him the envied title of 'medicine-man,' or 'doctor,' which he had so deservedly won—wreaths were prepared to decorate his brows, and eagles plumes and calumets were in readiness for him; his friends were all rejoiced—his enemies wore on their faces a silent gloom and hatred; and his old sweethearts, who had formely cast him off, gazed intently upon him, as they glowed with the burning fever of repentance.

"During all this excitement, Wak-a-dah-ha-kee kept his position, assuming the most commanding and threatening attitude; brandishing his shield in the direction of the thunder, although there was not a cloud to be seen, until he (poor fellow), being elevated above the rest of the village, espied, to his inexpressible amazement, the steamboat ploughing its way up the windings of the river below; puffing her steam from her pipes, and sending forth the thunder from a twelve-pounder on her deck. * * *

"The White Buffalo's Hair stood motionless and turned pale, he looked a while and turned to the chiefs and to the multitude, and addressed them with a trembling lip—'My friends we will get no rain! There are, you see, no clouds; but my medicine is great, I have brought a **thunder-boat!** Look and see it! The thunder you hear is out of her mouth, and the lightning which you see is on the water!'

"At this intelligence, the whole village flew to the tops of their wigwams, or to the bank of the river, from whence the steamer was in full view, and ploughing along, to their utter dismay and confusion.

"In this promiscuous throng of chiefs, doctors, women, children and dogs, was mingled Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), having descended from his high place to mingle with the frightened throng.

000

"Dismayed at the approach of so strange and unaccountable an object, the Mandans stood their ground but a few minutes; when, by an order of the chiefs, all hands were ensconced within the piquets of their village, and all the warriors armed for desperate defense. A few moments brought the boat in front of the village, and all was still and quiet as death; not a Mandan was to be seen upon the banks. The steamer was moored, and three or four of the chiefs soon after, walked boldly down the bank and on to her deck, with a spear in one hand and the calumet or pipe of peace in the other. The moment they stepped on board they met (to their great surprise and joy) their old friend, Major Sanford, their agent, which circumstance put an instant end to all their fears. The villagers were soon apprised of the fact, and the whole race of the beautiful and friendly Mandans was paraded on the bank of the river, in front of the steamer.

"The 'Rain Maker,' whose apprehensions of a public calamity brought upon the nation by his extraordinary medicine, had for the better security of his person from apprehended vengeance, secreted himself in some secure place, and was the last to come forward, and the last to be convinced that this visitation was a friendly one from the white people; and that his medicine had not in the least been instrumental in bringing it about. This information, though received by him with much caution and suspicion, at length gave him great relief, and quieted his mind as to his danger. Yet still in his breast there was a rankling thorn, though he escaped the dreaded vengeance which he had a few minutes before apprehended as at hand; as he had the mortification and disgrace of having failed in his mysterious operations. He set up however, (during the day, in his conversation about the strange arrival), his medicines, as the cause of its approach; asserting everywhere and to everybody, that he knew of its coming and that he had by his magic brought the occurrence about. This plea, however, did not get him much audience; and in fact, everything else was pretty much swallowed up in the guttural talk, and bustle, and gossip about the mysteries of the 'thunder-boat;' and so passed the day, until just at the approach of evening, when the 'White Buffalo's Hair' (more watchful of such matters on this occasion than most others) observed that a black cloud had been jutting up in the horizon, and was almost directly over the village! In an instant his shield was on his arm, and his bow in his hand, and he again upon the lodge. Stiffened and braced to the last sinew, he stood, with his face and his shield presented to the cloud, and his bow drawn. He drew the eyes of the whole village upon him as he vaunted forth his super-human powers, and at the same time commanded the cloud to come nearer, that he might draw its contents upon the heads and the corn fields of the Mandans. In this wise he stood, waiving his shield over his head, stamping his foot and frowning as he drew his bow and threatened the Heavens, his bow was bent and the arrow drawn to its head, was sent to the cloud, and he exclaimed, 'My friends, it is done! Wak-a-dah-ha-hee's arrow has entered that black cloud, and the Mandans will be wet with the waters of the skies!' His predictions were true; in a few moments the cloud was over the village, and the rain fell in torrents. He stood for some time wielding his weapons and presenting his shield to the sky, while he boasted of his power and the efficacy of his **medicine**, to those who had been about him, but were now driven to the shelter of their wigwams. He at length, finished his vaunts and his threats, and descended from his high place (in which he had been perfectly drenched), prepared to receive the honors and the homage that were due to one so potent in his mysteries; and to receive the style and title of '**medicine-man**.' This is one of the hundred different modes in which a man in Indian countries acquires the honorable appellation.

"This man had 'made it rain,' and of course was to receive more than the usual honors, as he had done much more than ordinary men could do. All eyes were upon him, and all were ready to admit that he was skilled in the magic art; and must be so nearly allied to the Great or Evil Spirt, that he must needs be a man of great and powerful influence in the nation, and well entitled to the style of doctor or **medicine-man**.

"Readers, there are two facts relative to these strange transactions, which are infallibly true, and should needs be made known. The first is, that when the Mandans undertake to make it rain, they never fail to succeed, for their cememonies never stop until rain begins to fall. The second is equally true, and is this: That he who has once 'made it rain,' never attempts it again; his medicine is undoubted—and on future occasions of the kind, he stands aloof, who has once done it in the presence of the whole village, giving an opportunity to other young men who are ambitious to signalize themselves in the same way."

Lightning's Bolt. "During the memorable night which I have just spoken, the steamboat remained by the side of the Mandan village, and the rain that had commenced falling continued to pour down its torrents until midnight; black thunder roared, and livid lightning flashed until the heavens appeared to be lit up with one unceasing and appalling glare. In this frightful moment of consternation, a flash of lightning buried itself in one of the earth covered lodges of the Mandans, and killed a beautiful girl. Here was food and fuel fresh for their superstitions, and a night of vast tumult and excitement ensued. The dreams of the new made medicine-man were troubled, and he had dreadful apprehensions for the coming day—for he knew that he was subject to the irrevocable decree of the chiefs and doctors, who canvass every strange and unaccountable event, with close and superstitious scrutiny, and let their vengeance fall without mercy upon its immediate cause.

"He looked upon his well earned fame as likely to be withheld from him; and also considered that his life might perhaps be demanded as the forfeit for this girl's death, which would certainly be charged upon him. He looked upon himself as culpable, and supposed the incident to have been occasioned by his criminal desertion of his post, when the steamboat was approaching the village. Morning came, and he soon learned from some of his friends, the opinions of the wise men; and also the nature of the tribunal that was preparing for him; he sent to the prairie for his three horses, which were brought in, and he mounted the medicine lodge, around which, in a few moments the villagers were all assembled. 'My friends! (said he) I see you all around me, and I am before you; my medicine, you see, is great—it is too great—I am young, and I was too fast—I knew not when to stop. The wigwam of Mah-sish is laid low, and many are the eyes that weep for Ko-ka (the antelope); Wak-a-dah-ha-hee gives three horses to gladden the hearts of those who weep for Ko-ka; his medicine was great—his arrow pierced the black cloud, and the lightning came, and the **thunder-boat** also! Who says the medicine of Wak-a-dah-ha-hee is not strong?'

"At the end of this sentence an unanimous shout of approbation ran through the crowd, and the 'Hair of the White Buffalo' de-

000

scended amongst them, where he was greeted by shakes of the hand; and amongst whom he now lives and thrives under the familiar and honorable appellation of the 'Big Double Medicine.' "

Catlin now explains the dexterity of the Mandans in the use of the bow and arrow; shows why they shoot at short instead of long range, how the combination of rider and handler of that formidable weapon results in wonderful execution; that the Mandan horses were of Mexican stock; and mentions the "game of the arrow" and horse-racing as among the games and recreations of that tribe:

"This day has been one of unusual mirth and amusement amongst the Mandans, and whether on account of some annual celebration or not, I am as yet unable to say, though I think such is the case; for these people have many days which, like this, are devoted to festivities and amusements.

"Their lives, however, are lives of idleness and ease, and almost all their days and hours are spent in innocent amusements. Amongst a people who have no office hours to attend to—no professions to study, and of whom but very little time is required in the chase, to supply their families with food, it would be strange if they did not practice many games and amusements, and also become exceedingly expert in them.

"I have this day been a spectator of games and plays until I am fatigued with looking on; and also by lending a hand, which I have done; but with so little success as only to attract general observation and as generally to excite the criticisms and laughter of the squaws and little children."

Arrow Game. "I have seen a fair exhibition of their archery this day, in a favorite amusement which they call the 'game of the arrow,' where the young men who are the most distinguished in this exercise, assemble on the prairie at a little distance from the village, and having paid, each one, his 'entrance fee,' such as a shield, a robe, a pipe, or other article. step forward in turn, shooting their arrows into the air, endeavoring to see who can get the greatest number flying in the air at one time, thrown from the same bow. For this, the number of eight or ten arrows are clenched in the left hand with the bow, and the first one which is thrown is elevated to such a degree as will enable it to remain the longest time possible in the air, and while it is flying, the others are discharged as rapidly as possible; and he who succeeds in getting the greatest number up at once, is 'best,' and takes the goods staked.

"In looking on at this amusement, the spectator is surprised; not at the great distance to which the arrows are actually sent; but at the quickness of fixing them on the string, and discharging them in succession; which is no doubt, the result of great practice, and enables the most expert of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground."

Short-Range Shooting. "For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' back while at the swiftest rate and their enemies fought in the same manner; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider along side, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in the regions I have described in a former letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond belief, considering their length, which is not often over three—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at the fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

Use Mexican Horses. "The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the 000 Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers, to lake Winnipeg on the north, a distance of 3,000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but very hardy and tough animals being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the lasso, which is a long halter or thong, made of rawhide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the lasso, chokes the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

"Scarcely a man is to be found in these regions, who is not the owner of one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property."

Horse Racing. "The Indians are hard and cruel masters; and, added to their cruelties is the sin that is familiar in the Christian world, of sporting with the limbs and lives of these noble animals. Horse racing here, as in all more enlightened communities, is one of the most exciting amusements, and one of the most extravagant modes of gambling.

"I have been this day a spectator to scenes of this kind, which have been enacted in abundance, on a course which they have, just back of their village; and although I never had the least taste for this cruel amusement in my own country, yet I must say, I have been not little amused and pleased with the thrilling effect which these exciting scenes have produced amongst so wild and picturesque a group.

"I have made a sketch of the ground and the group, as near as I could; showing the manner of 'starting' and 'coming out,' which vary little from the customs of the knowing world; but in other respects, I believe, a horse race is the same all the world over."

War Party. "Besides these, many have been the amusements of this day, to which I have been an eye witness; and since writing the above, I have learned the cause of this unusual expression

1: DeLand O-4 (No dat [illegible] 8 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

of hilarity and mirth; which was no more or less than the safe return of a small war party, who had been so long out without any tidings having been received of them, that they had long since been looked upon as sacrificed to the fates of war and lost. This party was made up of the most distinguished and desperate young men of the tribe, who had sallied against the Riccarees, and taken the most solemn oath amongst themselves never to return without achieving a victory. They had wandered long and faithfully about the country, following the trails of their enemies, when they were attacked by a numerous party, and lost several of their men and all their horses. In this condition, to evade the scrutiny of their enemy, who were closely investing the natural route to their village; they took a circuitous range of the country, to enable them to return with their lives, to their village.

"In this plight, it seems, I had dropped my little canoe along side of them, while descending from the mouth of Yellowstone to this place, not many weeks since; where they had bivouacked or halted, to smoke and consult on the best and safest mode of procedure. At the time of meeting them, not knowing anything of their language, they were unable to communicate their condition to me, and more probably were afraid to do so even if they could have done so, from apprehension that we might have given some account of them to their enemies. I rested my canoe an hour or so with them, during which time they treated us with an indifferent reserve, yet respectfully; and we passed on our way, without further information of them or their plans than the sketch that I there made, and which I shall preserve and value as one of the most pleasing groups I ever have had the pleasure to see. Seated on their buffalo robes, which were spread upon the grass, with their respective weapons laying about them, and lighting their pipes at a little fire which was kindled in the center—the chief or leader of the party, with his arms stacked behind him, and his long head-dress of war eagles' quills and ermine falling down over his back, whilst he sat in a contemplative and almost desponding mood, was surely one of the most striking and beautiful illustrations of a natural hero that I ever looked upon.

"These gallant fellows got safely home to their village, and the numerous expressions of joy for their return, which I have this day witnessed, have so much fatigued me, that I write brief, and close my letter here." (p. 144.)

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

Now follows a return by Catlin to the subject of the noted chief, Four Bears, whom he describes with great particularity as to his garb and personal ornaments in connection with the painting of his picture. This and many other paintings made by Catlin in the Indian country form, as is well known, part of the famous "Catlin's Museum" in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. If the fine drawing of Four Bears thus "tricked out," published in connection in his "North American Indians," could be here reproduced, the reader would be immensely assisted and further entertained in the following narrative.

"In a former letter I gave some account of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), second chief of the Mandans, whom I said I had painted at full length, in a splendid costume. I therein said, also, that 'this extraordinary man, though second in office, is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant, and gentlemanly his deportment—handsome, brave, and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of all his battles painted on it, which would fill a book of themselves if they were properly enlarged and translated."

Four Bears' Costume. "I gave you also, in another epistle, an account of the manner in which he invited me to feast in his hospitable wigwam, at the same time presenting me with a beautifully garnished robe; and I promised to say more of him on a future occasion. My readers will therefore pardon me for devoting a letter or two at this time, to a sketch of this extraordinary man, which I will give in as brief a manner as possible, by describing the costume in which I painted his portrait; and afterwards reciting the most remarkable incidents of his life, as I had them from the traders and the Indian agents, and afterwards corroborated by his own words, translated to me as he spoke, whilst I was writing them down.

"The dress of Mah-to-toh-pa then, the greater part of which I have represented in his full length portrait, and which I shall now describe, was purchased of him after I had painted his picture; and every article of it can be seen in my Indian gallery by the side of the portrait, provided I succeed in getting them home to the civilized world without injury.

"Mah-to-toh-pa had agreed to stand before me for his portrait at an early hour of the next morning, and on that day I sat with my palette of colors prepared, and waited till twelve o'clock, before he could leave his toilette with feelings of satisfaction as to the propriety of his looks and the arrangement of his equipments; and at that it was announced that 'Mah-to-toh-pa was coming in full dress.' I looked out of the door of the wigwam, and saw him approaching with a firm and elastic step, accompanied by a great crowd of women and children, who were gazing on him with admiration, and escorting him to my room. No tragedian ever trod the stage, nor gladiator ever entered the Roman Forum, with more grace and manly dignity than did Mah-to-toh-pa enter the wigwam, where I was in readiness to receive him.

"He took his attitude before me, and with the sternness of a Brutus and the stillness of a statue, he stood until the darkness of night broke upon the solitary stillness. His dress which was a very splendid one, was complete in all its parts, and consisted of a shirt or tunic, leggins, moccasins, head-dress, necklace, shield, bow and quiver, lance, tobacco sack, and pipe; robe, belt, and knife; medicine-bag, tomahawk, and war-club, or Po-ko-mo-kon.

"The shirt of which I have spoken, was made of two skins of the mountain sheep, beautifully dressed, and sewed together by seams which rested upon the arms; one skin hanging in front, upon the breast, and the other falling down upon the back; the head being passed between them, and they falling over and resting on the shoulders. Across each shoulder, and somewhat in the form of an epaulette, was a beautiful band; and down each arm from the neck to the hand was a similar one, of two inches in width (and crossing the other at right angles on the shoulder), beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills worked on the dress, and covering the seams. To the lower edge of these bands the whole way, at intervals of half an inch, were attached long locks of black hair, which he had taken with his own hand from the heads of his enemies whom he had slain in battle, and which he thus wore as a trophy, and also as an ornament to his dress. The front and back of the shirt were curiously garnished, in several parts with porcupine quills and paintings of the battles he had fought, and also with representations of the victims that had fallen by his hand. The bottom of the dress was bound or hemmed with ermine skins, and tassels of ermines' tails were suspended from the arms and shoulders.

"The leggins, which were made of deer skins, beautifully

500

dressed, and fitting tight to the leg, extended from the feet to the hips, and were fastened to a belt which was passed around the waist. These, like the shirt, had a similar band, worked with porcupine quills of richest dyes, passing down the seam on the outer part of the leg, and fringed also the whole length of the leg, with the scalp locks taken from his enemies' heads.

"The **moccasins** were of buckskin, and covered in almost every part with the beautiful embroidery of porcupines' quills.

"The **head-dress**, which was superb and truly magnificent, consisted of a crest of war eagles' quills, gracefully falling back from the forehead over the back part of the head, and extending quite down to his feet; set the whole way in a profusion of ermine, and surmounted on the top of the head, with the horns of the buffalo, shaved thin and highly polished.

"The **necklace** was made of fifty huge claws or nail of the grizzly bear, ingeniously arranged on the skin of an otter, and worn, like the scalp-locks, as a trophy—as an evidence unquestionable, that he had contended with and overcome that desperate enemy in open combat.

"His **shield** was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, and hardened with glue that was taken from its hoofs; its boss was the skin of a pole-cat, and its edges were fringed with rows of eagles' quills and hoofs of the antelope.

"His **bow** was of bone, and as white and beautiful as ivory; over its back was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deer's sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims.

"The **quiver** was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

"The **lance** or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war eagles' quills.

"His **tobacco sack** was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his k'nick-k'nick (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and punk for lighting.

"His **pipe,** which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

"His **robe** was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it with his own hand.

"His **belt,** which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping knife.

"His **medicine bag** was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his po-ko-mo-kon or (war club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with the others of his weapons at his feet.

"Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defense of his county, and his brows

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

crowned with honors that elevate him conspicuous above all of his nation. There is no man amongst the Mandans so generally loved, nor any one who wears a robe so justly famed and honorable as that of Mah-to-toh-pa.

His History Robe. "I said his robe was of the skin of a young buffalo bull, and that the battles of his life were emblazoned upon it; and on a former occasion, that he presented me a beautiful robe, containing all the battles of his life, which he had spent two weeks' time in copying from his original one, which he wore on his shoulders.

"This robe with his tracings on it, is the chart of his military life; and when explained, will tell more of Mah-to-toh-pa.

"Some days after this robe was presented, he called upon me with Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter for the Mandans, and gave me of each battle there portrayed the following history, which was interpreted by Mr. Kipp, from his own lips, and written down by me, as we three sat upon the robe.

"Mr. Kipp, who is a gentleman of respectability and truth, and who has lived with these people ten years, assured me, that nearly every one of these narrations were of events that had happened whilst he had lived with them, and had been familiarly known to him; and that every word that he asserted was true.

"And again, reader, in this country where, of all countries I ever was in men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also, that every man's deeds of honor and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to life, for a warrior to wear upon his back the representations of battles he never had fought; professing to have done what every child in the village would know he never had done.

"So then I take the records of battles on the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa to be matter of historical fact; and I proceed to give them as I wrote them down from his own lips. Twelve battle scenes are there represented, where he has contended wiih his enemy, and in which he has taken fourteen of their scalps. The groups are drawn according to his own rude ideas of the arts; and I proceed to describe them in turn, as they were explained to me.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ROBE OF MAH-TO-TOH-PA.

000 "1. Mah-to-toh-pa kills a Sioux chief—the three heads represent the three Riccarees, whom the Sioux chief had previously killed. The Sioux chief is seen with war paint black on his face. Mah-to-toh-pa is seen with the scalp of the Sioux in one hand, and his knife in the other, with his bow and quiver lying behind him.

"2. A Shienne chief, who sent word to Mah-to-toh-pa that he wished to fight him—was killed by Mah-to-toh-pa with a lance, in the presence of a large party of Mandans and Shiennes. Mah-to-toh-pa is here known by his lance with eagles' quills on it.

"3. A Shienne killed by Mah-to-toh-pa after Mah-to-toh-pa had been left by his party, badly wounded and bleeding; the twenty-five or thirty foot tracks around, represent the number of Shiennes, who were present when the battle took place; and the bullets from their guns represented as flying all around the head of Mah-to-toh-pa.

"4. Shienne chief with war eagle head-dress, and a beautiful shield, ornamented with war eagles' quills, killed by Mah-to-toh-pa. In this battle the wife of the Shienne rushed forward in a desperate manner to his assistance; but arriving too late fell a victim. In this battle Mah-to-toh-pa obtained two scalps.

"5. Mah-to-toh-pa, with a party of Riccarees, fired at by a party of Sioux; the Riccarees fled—Mah-to-toh-pa dismounted and drove his horse back, facing the enemy alone and killing one of them. Mah-to-toh-pa is here represented with a beautiful head-dress of war-eagles' quills, and one on his horse's head of equal beauty; his shield is on his arm, and the party of Sioux is represented in front of him by the number of horse's tracks.

"6. The brother of Mah-to-toh-pa killed by a Riccaree, who shot him with an arrow, and then running a lance through his body, left it there. Mah-to-toh-pa was the first to find his brother's body with the lance in it; he drew the lance from the body, kept it four years with the blood dried on its blade, and then, according to his oath, killed the same Riccaree with the same lance; the dead body of his brother is here seen with the arrow and lance remaining in it, and the tracks of the Riccaree's horses in front."

His Exploits. "The following was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary exploits of this remarkable man's life, and is well

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

attested by Mr. Kipp, and several white men, who were living in the Mandan village at the time of its occurrence. In a skirmish, near the Mandan village, when they were set upon by their enemies, the Riccarees, the brother of Mah-to-toh-pa was missing for several days, when Mah-to-toh-pa found the body shockingly mangled, and a handsome spear left piercing the body through the heart. The spear was brought by him into the Mandan village, where it was recognized by many as a famous weapon belonging to a noted brave of the Riccarees, by the name of Won-ga-tap. This spear was brandished through the Mandan village by Mah-to-toh-pa (with the blood of his brother dried on its blade), crying most piteously, and swearing that he would some day revenge the death of his brother with the same weapon.

"It is almost an incredible fact, that he kept this spear with great care in his wigwam for the space of four years, in the fruitless expectation of an opportunity to use it upon the breast of its owner; when his indignant soul, impatient of further delay, burst forth in the most uncontrolable frenzy and fury; he again brandished it through the village, and said, that the blood of his brother's heart which was seen on its blade was yet fresh, and called loudly for revenge. 'Let every Mandan (said he) be silent, and let no one sound the name of Mah-to-toh-pa—let no one ask for him, nor where he has gone, until you hear him sound the war-cry in front of the village, when he will enter it and show you the blood of Won-go-tap. The blade of this lance shall drink the heart's blood of Won-go-tap, or Mah-to-toh-pa mingles his shadow with that of his brother.'

"With this he sallied forth from the village, and over the plains, with the lance in his hands; his direction was towards the Riccaree village, and all eyes were upon him, though none dared to speak till he disappeared over the distant grassy bluffs. He traveled the distance of two hundred miles entirely alone, with a little parched corn in his pouch, making his marches by night, and lying secreted by days, until he reached the Riccaree village; where (being acquainted with its shapes and its habits, and knowing the position of the wigwam of his doomed enemy) he loitered about in disguise, mingling himself in the obscure throng; and, at last, silently and alone, observed through the rents of the wigwam, the last motions and movements of his victim, as he

000

retired to bed with his wife; saw him light his last pipe and smoke it 'to its end'—he saw the last whiff, and saw the last curl of blue smoke that faintly steeped from its bowl—he saw the village a while in darkness and silence, and the embers that were covered in the middle of the wigwam gone nearly out, and the last flickering light which had been gently playing over them; when he walked softly but not slyly, into the wigwam and seated himself by the fire, over which was hanging a large pot, with a quantity of cooked meat remaining in it; and by the side of the fire, the pipe and tobacco pouch which had just been used; and knowing that the twilight of the wigwam was not sufficient to disclose the features of his face to his enemy, he very deliberately turned to the pot and completely satiated the desperate appetite, which he had got in a journey of six or seven days, with little or nothing to eat; and then, as deliberately, charged and lighted the pipe, and sent (no doubt, in every whiff that he drew through its stem) a prayer to the Great Spirit for a moment longer for the consummation of his design. Whilst eating and smoking, the wife of his victim, while laying in bed, several times inquired of her husband, what man it was who was eating in their lodge? To which, he as many times replied, 'its no matter; let him eat for he is probably hungry.'

"Mah-to-toh-pa knew full well that his appearance would cause no other reply than this, from the dignitary of the nation; for, from an invariable custom amongst these northern Indians, any one who is hungry is allowed to walk into any man's lodge and eat. Whilst smoking his last gentle and tremulous whiffs on the pipe, Mah-to-toh-pa (leaning back, and turning gradually on his side, to get a better view of the position of his enemy, and to see a little more distinctly the shapes of things) stirred the embers with his toes (readers, I had every word of this from his own lips, and every attitude and gesture acted out with his own limbs), until he saw his way was clear; at which moment, with his lance in his hands, he arose and drove it through the body of his enemy, and snatching the scalp from his head, he darted from the lodge—and quick as lightning, with the lance in one hand, and the scalp in the other, made his way to the prairie. The village was in an uproar, but he was off, and no one knew the enemy who had struck the blow. Mah-to-toh-pa ran all night, and

000

lay close during the days; thanking the Great Spirit for strengthing his heart and his arm to this noble revenge; and praying fervently for a continuance of his aid and protection till he should get back to his own village. His prayers were heard; and on the sixth morning at sun-rise, Mah-to-toh-pa descended the bluffs, and entered the village amidst deafening shouts of applause, while he brandished and showed to his people the blade of his lance, with the blood of his victim dried upon it, over that of his brother; and the scalp of Won-go-tap suspended from its handle.

"Such was the feat represented by Mah-to-toh-pa on his robe—and the lance, of which I have just spoken, is seen in the hand of his portrait, which will stand in my gallery, and of which I have thus formerly spoken. 'The lance or spear of Mah-to-toh-pa, when he stood for his portrait, was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged, and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon its surface, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war eagles' quills.'

"In the portrait of which I am speaking, there will be seen an eagle's quill balanced on the hilt of the lance, severed from its original position and loose from the weapon. When I painted his portrait, he brought that quill to my wigwam in his left hand, and carefully balancing it on the lance, as seen in the painting; he desired me to be very exact with it, to have it appear as separate from, and unconnected with the lance; and to represent a spot of blood which was visible upon it. I indulged him in his request, and then got from him the following explanation: 'That quill (said he) is great medicine. It belongs to the Great Spirit, and not to me—when I was running out of the lodge of Won-ga-tap, I looked back and saw that quill hanging to the wound in his side; I ran back, and pulling it out, brought it home in my left hand, and I have kept it for the Great Spirit to this day.'

"'Why do you not then tie it on to the lance again, where it came off?'

"'Hush-sh (said he), if the Great Spirit had wished it to be tied on in that place, it never would have come off; he has been kind to me, and I will not offend him.'

"7. A Riccaree killed by Mah-to-toh-pa in revenge of the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 death of a white man killed by a Riccaree in the fur traders' fort, a short time previous.

"8. Mah-to-toh-pa, or Four Bears, kills a Shienne chief, who challenged him to a single combat, in presence of the two war parties; they fought on horseback with guns, until Mah-to-toh-pa's powder horn was shot away; they then fought with bows and arrows, until their quivers were emptied, when they dismounted and fought single-handed. The Shienne drew his knife, and Mah-to-toh-pa had left his; they struggled for the knife, which Mah-to-toh-pa wrested from the Shienne, and killed him with it; in the struggle the blade of the knife was several times drawn through the hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, and the blood is seen running from the wound.

"This extraordinary occurrence also, was one which admits of, and deserves a more elaborate description,. which I will here give as it was translated from his own lips, while he sat upon the robe, pointing to his painting of it; and at the same time brandishing the identical knife which he drew from his belt, as he was showing how the fatal blow was given; and exhibiting the wounds inflicted in his hand, as the blade of the knife was several times drawn through it before he wrested it from his antagonist.

"A party of about 150 Shienne warriors had made an assault upon the Mandan village at an early hour in the morning, and driven off a considerable number of horses, and taken one scalp. Mah-to-toh-pa, who was then a young man, but famed as one of the most valiant of the Mandans, took the lead of a party of fifty warriors, all he could at that time muster, and went in pursuit of the enemy; about noon of the second day, they came in sight of the Shiennes; and the Mandans seeing their enemy much more numerous than they had expected, were generally disposed to turn about and return without attacking them. They started to go back, when Mah-to-toh-pa galloped out in front upon the prairie, and plunged his lance into the ground; the blade was driven into the earth to its hilt—he made another circuit around, and in that circuit tore from his breast a reddened sash, which he hung upon its handle as a flag, calling out to the Mandans. 'What! Have we come to this? We have dogged our enemy two days, and now that we have found them, are we to turn about

OOD

and go back like cowards? Mah-to-toh-pa's lance, which is red with the blood of brave men, has led you to the sight of your enemy, and you have followed it; it now stands firm in the ground, where the earth will drink the blood of Mah-to-toh-pa. You may go back, and Mah-to-toh-pa will fight them alone.'

"During this maneuver, the Shiennes, who had discovered the Mandans behind them, had turned about and were gradually approaching, in order to give them battle; the chief of the Shienne war party seeing and understanding the difficulty, and admiring the gallant conduct of Mah-to-toh-pa, galloped his horse forward within hailing distance, in front of the Mandans, and called out to know 'who he was who had stuck down his lance and defied the whole enemy alone?'

"'I am Mah-to-toh-pa, second in command of the brave and valiant Mandans.'

"'I have heard often of Mah-to-toh-pa, he is a great warrior—dares Mah-to-toh-pa to come forward and fight this battle with me alone, and our warriors will look on?'

"'Is he a chief who speaks to Mah-to-toh-pa?'

"'My scalps you see hanging to my horse's bits, and here is my lance with the ermine skins and the war eagle's tail.'

"'You have said enough.'

"The Shienne chief made a circuit or two at full gallop on a beautiful white horse, when he struck his lance into the ground, and left it standing by the side of the lance of Mah-to-toh-pa, both of which were waiving together their little red flags, tokens of blood and defiance.

"The two parties then drew nearer, on a beautiful prairie, and the two full-plumed chiefs, at full speed, drove furiously upon each other. Both firing their guns at the same moment. They passed each other a little distance and wheeled, when Mah-to-toh-pa threw off his powder horn, and by holding it up, showed his adversary that the bullet had shattered it to pieces and destroyed his ammunition; he then threw it from him, and his gun also—drew his bow from his quiver, and an arrow, and his shield upon his left arm! The Shienne instantly did the same; his horn was thrown off, and his gun was thrown into the air—his shield was balanced on his arm—his bow drawn, and quick as lightning, they were both on the wing for a deadly combat! Like two soaring

000 eagles in the open air, they made their circuits around, and the twangs of their sinewy bows were heard, and the war-whoop, as they dashed by each other, parrying off the whizzing arrows with their shields! Some lodged in their legs and some others in their arms; but both protected their bodies with their bucklers of bull's hide. Deadly and many were the shafts that fled from their murderous bows. At length the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa fell to the ground with an arrow in his heart! His rider sprang upon his feet prepared to renew the combat; but the Shienne seeing his adversary dismounted, sprang from his horse, and driving him back, presented the face of his shield towards his enemy, inviting him to come on! A few shots were exchanged thus, when the Shienne, having discharged all his arrows, held up his empty quiver and dashing it furiously to the ground, with his bow and his shield, drew and brandished his naked knife.

" 'Yes,' said Mah-to-toh-pa, as he threw his shield and quiver to the earth, and was rushing up—he grasped for his knife, but his belt had it not; he had left it at home! His bow was in his hand, with which he parried his antagonist's blow and felled him to the ground! A desperate struggle now ensued for the knife—the blade of which was several times drawn through the right hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, inflicting the most frightful wounds, while he was severely wounded in several parts of the body. He at length succeeded however, in wresting it from his adversary's hand, and plunged it to his heart.

"By this time the two parties had drawn up in close view of each other, and at the close of the battle, Mah-to-toh-pa held up, and claimed in deadly silence, the knife and scalp of the noble Shienne chief.

"9. Several hundred Minnetarees and Mandans attacked by a party of Assiniboines—all fled but Mah-to-toh-pa, who stood his ground, fired and killed one of the enemy, putting the rest of them to flight, and driving off sixty horses. He is here seen with his lance and shield—foot tracks of his enemy in front, and his own party's horse tracks behind him, and a shower of bullets flying around his head; here he got the name of 'the four bears,' as the Assinibones said he rushed on like four bears.

"10. Mah-to-toh-pa gets from his horse and kills two Ojibbeway women, and takes their scalps; done by the side of an Ojibbe-

000

way village, where they went to the river for water. He is here seen with his lance in one hand and his knife in the other—an eagle's plume head-dress on his horse, and his shield left on his horse's back. I incurred his ill-will for a while by asking him, whether it was manly to boast of taking the scalps of women? And his pride prevented him from giving me any explanation or apology. The interpreter, however, explained to me that he had secreted himself in the most daring manner, in full sight of the Ojibbeway village, seeking to revenge a murder, where he remained six days without sustenance, and then killed the two women in full view of the tribe, and made his escape, which entitled him to the credit of a victory, though his victims were women.

"11. A large party of Assiniboines entrenched near the Mandan village attacked by the Mandans and Minnetarees, who were driven back—Mah-to-toh-pa rushes into the entrenchment alone—an Indian fires at him and burns his face with the muzzle of his gun, which bursts—the Indian retreats, leaving his exploded gun, and Mah-to-toh-pa shoots him through the shoulders as he runs, and kills him with his tomahawk; the gun of the Assiniboine is seen falling to the ground, and in front of him the heads of the Assiniboines in the entrenchment; the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa is seen behind him.

"12. Mah-to-toh-pa between his enemy the Sioux, and his own people, with an arrow shot through him, after standing the fire of the Sioux for a long time alone. In this battle he took no scalps, yet his valor was so extraordinary that the chiefs and braves awarded him the honor of a victory.

"This feat is seen in the center of the robe—head-dress of war eagles' quills on his own and his horse's head—the tracks of his enemies' horses are seen in front of him, and bullets flying both ways all around him. With his whip in his hand he is seen urging his horse forward, and an arrow is seen flying, and bloody, as it has passed through his body. For this wound, and several others mentioned above, he bears the honorable scars on his body, which he generally keeps covered with red paint.

"Such are the battles traced upon the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa, or Four Bears, interpreted by J. Kipp, from the words of the hero

000 whilst sitting upon the robe, explaining each battle as represented." (p. 155.)

The note below quoted is found written by Catlin as a foot-note upon the knife in question, referred to under heading "8" in his explanation of Four Bears' robe: "This celebrated weapon with the blood of several victims dried upon its blade, now hangs in the Indian gallery, with satisfactory certificates of its identity and its remarkable history, and an exact drawing of it and its scabbard can be seen in Plate 99, a."

The "Annual Religious Ceremony," so long looked for by Catlin at the Mandan villages, is now described by him at length, in which narration he refers to the "Great (or Good) Spirit" and the "Evil Spirit" as the two distinguishing deities of the Mandans, and in connection with the ceremony in question, brings out the mysterious coming into the village of the "First Man" as being commemorative of the subsidence of the flood, which event he declares is accountable for the ceremony itself; the successive dances, the varied and strange incidents in the celebration; the hideous or grotesque postures, etc., symbolic of the occasion, and the terrible sufferings and feats of endurance through self-imposed tests as the climax to the whole performance—all are related in detail in the graphic mode of that fortunate student of Indian life whose opportunities, large and fateful, were utilized through the species of inspired narration so characteristic of Catlin. It is a long chapter, but no abridgement of it could be other than an effacement of its realities:

Annual Religious Ceremony. "Oh! 'horrible Visu et Mirabile Dictu.' Thank God, it is over, that I have seen it, and am able to tell it to the world.

"The annual religious ceremony, of four days, of which I have so often spoken, and which I have so long been wishing to see, has at last been enacted in this village; and I have, fortunately, been able to see and to understand it in most of its bearings, which was more than I had reason to expect; for no white man, in all probability, has ever been before admitted to the medicine-lodge during these most remarkable and appalling scenes.

"Well and truly has it been said, that the Mandans are a strange and peculiar people; and most correctly had I been informed, that this was an important and interesting scene, by those who had, on former occasions, witnessed such parts of it as are transacted out of doors, and in front of the medicine-lodge. 000

"Since the date of my last letter I was lucky enough to have painted the medicine-man, who was high-priest on this grand occasion, or conductor of the ceremonies, who had me regularly installed as doctor or 'medicine;' and who on the morning when the grand refinements in mysteries commenced, took me by the arm, and led me into the medicine-lodge, where the fur trader, Mr. Kipp, and his two clerks accompanied me in close attendance for four days; all of us going to our own quarters at sun-down, and returning at sun-rise the next morning.

"I took my sketch book with me, and have made many and faithful drawings of what we saw, and full notes of everything as translated to me by the interpreter; and since the close of that horrid and frightful scene, which was a week ago or more, I have been closely ensconced in an earth covered wigwam, with a fine sky-light over my head, with my palette and brushes, endeavoring faithfully to put the whole of what we saw upon canvass, which my companions all agree to be critically correct, and of the fidelity of which they have attached their certificates to the backs of the paintings.

"I have made four paintings of these strange scenes, containing several hundred figures, representing the transactions of each day; and if I live to get them home, they will be found to be exceedingly curious and interesting.

"I shudder at the relation, or even at the thought of these barbarous and cruel scenes, and am almost ready to shrink from the task of reciting them after I have so long promised some account of them. I entered the medicine-house of these scenes, as I would have entered a church, and expected to see something extraordinary and strange, but yet in the form of worship or devotion; but alas! Little did I expect to see the interior of their holy temple turned into a slaughter-house, and its floors strewed with the blood of its fanatic devotees. Little did I think that I was entering a house of God, where his blinded worshippers were to pollute its sacred interior with their blood, and propitiatory suffering and tortures—surpassing, if possible, the cruelty of the rack or the inquisition; but such the scene has been, and as such I will endeavor to describe it.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 "The 'Mandan religious ceremony' then, as I believed it is very justly denominated, is an annual transaction, held in their medicine-lodge once a year, as a great religious anniversary, and for several distinct objects, as I shall in a few minutes describe; during and after which, they look with implicit reliance for the justification and approval of the Great Spirit."

Indians Religious. "All of the Indian tribes, as I have before observed, are religious—are worshipful—and many of them go to almost incredible lengths (as will be seen in the present instance, and many others I may recite) in worshipping the Great Spirit; denying and humbling themselves before Him for the same purpose, and in the same hope as we do, perhaps in a more rational and acceptable way.

"The tribes, so far as I have visited them, all distinctly believe in the existence of a Great (or Good) Spirit, and Evil (or Bad) Spirit, and also in a future existence and future accountability, according to their virtues and vices in this world. So far the North American Indians would seem to be one family, and such an unbroken theory among them; yet with regard to the manner and form, and time and place of that accountability—to the construction of virtues and vices, and the modes of appeasing and propitiating the Good and Evil Spirits, they are found with all the changes and variety which fortuitous circumstances, and fictions, and fables have wrought upon them.

"If from their superstitions and their ignorance, there are oftentimes obscurities and mysteries thrown over and around their system, yet these affect not the theory itself, which is everywhere essentially the same—and which, if it be not correct, has this much to commend the admiration of the enlightened world, that they worship with great sincerity, and all according, to one creed.

"The Mandans believe in the existence of a Great (or Good) Spirit, and also of an Evil Spirit, who they say existed long before the Good Spirit, and is far superior in power. They all believe also in a future state of existence, and a future administration of rewards and punishments, and (so do all other tribes that I have yet visited) they believe those punishments are not eternal, but commensurate with their sins.

Heaven and Hell. "These people living in a climate where they suffer from cold in the severity of their winters, have very naturally reversed our ideas of Heaven and Hell. The latter they describe to be a country very far to the north, of barren and hideous aspect, and covered with eternal snows and ice. The torments of this freezing place they describe as most excruciating; whilst Heaven they suppose to be in a warmer and delightful latitude, where nothing is felt but the keenest enjoyment, and where the country abounds in buffalos and other luxuries of life. The Great or Good Spirit they believe dwells in the former place for the purpose of there meeting those who have offended him; increasing the agony of their sufferings, by being himself present, administrating the penalties. The Bad or Evil Spirit they at the same time suppose to reside in Paradise, still tempting the happy; and those who have gone to the regions of punishment they believe to be tortured for a time proportioned to the amount of their transgressions, and that they are then to be transferred to the land of the happy, where they are again liable to the temptation—of the Evil Spirit, and answerable again at a future period for their new offenses.

"Such is the religious creed of the Mandans, and for the purpose of appeasing the Good and Evil Spirits, and to secure their entrance into those 'fields Elysian,' or beautiful hunting grounds, do the young men subject themselves to the horrid and sickening cruelties to be described in the following pages.

"There are other three distinct objects (yet to be named) for which these religious ceremonies are held, which are as follows:

The Flood. "First, they are held annually as a celebration of the event of the subsiding of the flood, which they call Mee-nee-ka-ha-sha, (sinking down or settling of the waters).

"**Secondly,** for the purpose of dancing what they call, Bel-lohck-na-pic (the bull dance); to the strict observance of which they attribute the coming of buffalos to supply them with food during the season, and

"**Thirdly,** and lastly, for the purpose of conducting all the young men of the tribe, as they annually arrive at the age of manhood, through an ordeal of privation and torture, which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and prepare them for extreme endurance, enables the chiefs who are spectators to the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and

800 ability to endure the extreme privations and sufferings which often fall to the lot of Indian warriors; and that they may decide who is the most hardy and best able to lead a war party in case of extreme exigency.

"This part of the ceremony, as I have just witnessed it, is truly shocking to behold, and will almost stagger the belief of the world when they read of it. The scene is too terrible and too revolting to be seen or to be told, were it not an essential part of the whole, which will be new to the civilized world, and therefore worth their knowing.

"The bull-dance, and many other parts of these ceremonies are exceedingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

"In the center of the Mandan village is an open, circular arena of 150 feet in diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, etc., and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the center of this public arena."

"Big Canoe." "In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops) some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the 'big canoe'—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavoring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very center of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mystery and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood."

The Returning Bird. "This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the 'Mandan religious ceremony, commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of the days or weeks), but

000

at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for, according to their tradition, 'the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full grown leaves on it,' and the bird to which they allude is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth covered lodges, and which, being as they call it, a medicine-bird, it is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

"On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"'Now we have it!' (exclaimed mine host, as he sprang from the table), 'the grand ceremony has commenced! Drop your knife and fork, Monsr, and get your sketch book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of commencing is as curious as anything else of this strange affair.' I seized my sketch book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of their earth covered wigwams, and all were screaming, and dogs were howling, and all eyes directed to the prairies in the west, where was beheld at a mile distant, a solitary individual descending a prairie bluff, and making his way in a direct line towards the village!

"The whole community joined in the general expression of great alarm, as if they were in danger of instant destruction; bows were strung and thrumbed to test their elasticity—their horses were caught upon the prairie and run into the village—warriors were blackening their faces, and dogs were muzzled, and every preparation made, as if for instant combat.

"First Man" Arrives. "During this deafening din and confusion within the piquets of the village of the Mandans, the figure discovered on the prairie continued to approach with a dignified step and in a right line towards the village; all eyes were upon him, and he at length made his appearance (without opposition) within the piquets, and proceeded towards the center of the village, where all the chiefs and braves stood ready to receive him, which they did in a cordial manner, by shaking hands with him, recognizing him as an old acquaintance, and pronouncing his name Nu-mohk-muck-nah (the first or only man). The body of this strange personage, which was chiefly naked, was painted with white clay, so as to resemble at a little distance, a white man; he wore a robe of four white wolf skins falling back over his shoulders; on his head he had a splendid head-dress made of two ravens' skins, and in his left hand he cautiously carried a large pipe, which he seemed to watch and guard as something of great importance. After passing the chiefs and braves as described, he approached the medicine or mystery lodge which he had the means of opening, and which had been religiously closed during the year except for the performance of these religious rites.

"Having opened and entered it, he called in four men whom he appointed to clean it out, and put it in readiness for the ceremonies, by sweeping and strewing a profusion of green willow boughs over its floor, and with them decorating its sides. Wild sage also, and many other aromatic herbs they gathered from the prairies, and scattered over its floor; and over these were arranged a curious group of buffalo and human skulls, and other articles, which were to be used during this strange and unaccountable transaction.

"During the whole of this day, and while these preparations were making in the medicine-lodge, Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) traveled through the village, stopping in front of every man's lodge, and crying until the owner of the lodge came out, and asked who he was, and what was the matter? To which he replied by relating the sad catastrophe which had happened on the earth's surface by the overflowing of the waters, saying that 'he was the only person saved from the universal calamity; that he landed his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he now resides; that he had come to open the medicine-lodge, which must needs receive a present of some edged-tool from the owner of every wigwam, that it may be sacrificed to the water;' for he says, 'if this is not done, there will be another flood, and no one will be saved, as it is with such tools that the big canoe was made.'

000

"Having visited every lodge or wigwam in the village, during the day, and having received such a present at each, as a hatchet, a knife, etc., (which is undoubtedly always prepared and ready for the occasion), he returned at evening and deposited them in the medicine-lodge, where they remained until the afternoon of the last day of the ceremony, when, as the final or closing scene, they were thrown into the river in a deep place, from a bank thirty feet high, and in presence of the whole village; from whence they can never be recovered, and where they were, undoubtedly, sacrificed to the Spirt of the Water.

"During the first night of this strange character in the village, no one could tell where he slept; and every person, both old and young, and dogs and all living things were kept within doors, and dead silence reigned everywhere. On the next morning at sunrise, however, he made his appearance again, and entered the medicine-lodge; and at his heels (in 'Indian file,' i. e. single file, one following in another's tracks) all the young men who were candidates for the self-tortures which were to be inflicted, and for the honors that were to be bestowed by the chiefs on those who could the most manfully endure them. There were on this occasion about fifty young men who entered the lists, and as they went into the sacred lodge, each one's body was chiefly naked, and covered with clay of different colors; some were red, others were yellow, and some were covered with white clay, giving them the appearance of white men. Each one of them carried in his right hand his medicine-bag—on his left arm, his shield of the bull's hide—in his left hand, his bow and arrow, with his quiver slung on his back.

"When all had entered the lodge, they placed themselves in reclining posture around its sides, and each one had suspended over his head his respective weapons and medicine, presenting altogether one of the most wild and picturesque scenes imaginable.

"Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was in the midst of them, and having lit and smoked his medicine-pipe for their success and having addressed them in a short speech, stimulating and encouraging them to trust to the Great Spirit for his protection during the severe ordeal they were about to pass through, he called into the lodge an old medicine or mystery man, whose

000 body was painted yellow and whom he appointed master of ceremonies during this occasion, whom they denominate in their language O-kee-pah Ka-se-kah (keeper or conductor of the ceremonies.) He was appointed and the authority passed by the presentation of the medicine-pipe, on which they consider hangs all the power of holding and conducting all these rites.

"After this delegated authority had thus passed over to the medicine-man, Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah shook hands with him and bade him good-bye, saying 'that he was going back to the mountains in the west, from which he should assuredly return in just a year from that time to open the lodge again.' He then went out of the lodge, and passing through the village, took formal leave of the chiefs in the same manner, and soon disappeared over the bluffs from whence he came. No more was seen of this surprising character during the occasion, but I shall have something yet to say of him and his strange office before I get through the letter.

Mystery Man. "To return to the lodge, the medicine or mystery man just appointed, and who had received his injunctions from Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah, was left sole conductor and keeper, and according to these injunctions it was his duty to lie by a small fire in the center of the lodge with his medicine pipe in his hand, crying to the Great Spirit incessantly. watching the young men and preventing entirely their escape from the lodge, and all communication whatever with people outside, for the space of four days and nights, during which time they were not allowed to eat, to drink, or to sleep, preparatory to the excruciating self-tortures which they were to endure on the fourth day.

"I mentioned that I had made four paintings of these strange scenes and the first one exhibits the interior of the medicine-lodge at this moment, with the young men all reclining around its sides, and the conductor or mystery man lying by the fire, crying to the Great Spirit. It was just at this juncture that I was ushered into this sacred temple of their worship, with my companions, which was undoubtedly the first time that their devotions had ever been trespassed upon by the presence of pale faces,and in this instance it had been brought about in the following strange and unexpected manner.

Catlin as "White Medicine." "I had most luckily for myself painted a full-length portrait of this great magician or high-priest, but a day previous to the commencement of the ceremonies (in which I had represented him in the performance of some of his mysteries) with which he had been so exceedingly pleased as well as astonished (as 'he could see its eyes move'), that I must needs be, in his opinion, deeply skilled in magic and mysteries, and well entitled to a respectable rank in the craft, to which I had been at once elevated by the unanimous voice of the doctors, and regularly initiated and styled Te-ho-pee-nee-wash-ee-waska-pooska, the white medicine or Spirit painted.

"With this honorable degree which had just been conferred upon me, I was standing in front of the medicine lodge early in the morning with my companions by my side, endeavoring to get a peep if possible into its sacred interior, when this master of ceremonies, guarding and conducting its secrets, as I before described, came out of the door and taking me with a firm professional affection by the arm, led me into this sanctum sanctorum, which was strictly guarded from even a peep or a gaze of the vulgar, by a vestibule of eight or ten feet in length, guarded with a double screen or door, and two or three dark and frowning sentinels with spears or war-clubs in their hands. I gave the wink to my companions as I was passing in, and the potency of my medicine was such as to gain them a quiet admission, and all of us were comfortably placed on elevated seats, which our conductor soon prepared for us.

"We were then in full view of everything that transpired in the lodge, having before us the scene exactly, which is represented in the first of the four pictures. To this seat we returned every morning at sunrise and remained until sundown for four days, the whole time which these strange scenes occupied."

Mysterious "Medicine." "In addition to the preparation and arrangements of the interior of this sactuary, as above described, there was a curious, though a very strict arrangement of buffalo and human skulls placed on the floor of the lodge, and between them (which were divided into two parcels), and in front of the reclining group of young candidates, was a small and very delicate scaffold, elevated about five feet from the ground, made of four posts or crotches, not larger than a gun-rod, and placed some four or five feet apart, supporting four equally delicate rods,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

00b resting in the crotches; thus forming the frame of the scaffold, which was completed by a number of still smaller and more delicate sticks, transversely resting upon them. On the center of this little frame rested some small object, which I could not exactly understand from the distance of twenty or thirty feet which intervened between it and my eye. I started several times from my seat to approach it, but all eyes were instantly upon me, and every mouth in the assembly sent forth a hush-sh—which brought me back to my seat again; and I at length quieted my stifled curiosity as well as I could, upon learning the fact, that so sacred was that object, and so important its secrets or mysteries, that not I alone, but even the young men, who were passing the ordeal, and all the village, save the conductor of the mysteries, were stoppd from approaching it, or knowing what it was.

"This little mystery-thing, whatever it was, had the appearance from where I sat, of a small tortoise or frog lying on its back, with its head and legs quite extended, and wound and tasselled off with exceedingly delicate red and blue, and yellow ribbons or tassels, and other bright colored ornaments; and seemed, from the devotion paid it, to be the very nucleus of their mysteries—the sanctissimus sanctorum, from which seemed to eminate all the sanctity of their proceedings, and to which, all seemed to be paying the highest devotional respect.

"This strange, yet important essence of their mysteries, I made every inquiry about; but got no further information of, than what I could learn by my eyes, at the distance at which I saw it, and from the silent respect which I saw paid it. I tried with the doctors, and all the fraternity answered me, that that was 'great medicine,' assuring me that it 'could not be told.' So I quieted my curiosity as well as I could, by the full conviction that I had a degree or two yet to take before I could fathom all the arcana of Indian superstitions; and that this little, seemingly wonderful, relic of antiquity, symbol of some grand event, or 'secret too valuable to be told,' might have been at last nothing but a silly bunch of strings and toys, to which, they pay some great peculiar regard; giving thereby to some favorite Spirit or essence an ideal existence, and which, when called upon to describe, they refuse to do so, calling it, 'Great Medicine', for the very reason that there is nothing in it to reveal or describe.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

OCD

"Immediately under the little frame or scaffold described, and on the floor of the lodge was placed a knife, and by the side of it a bundle of splints or skewers, which were kept in readiness for the infliction of the cruelties directly to be explained. There were seen also, in this stage of the affair, a number of cords of rawhide hanging down from the top of the lodge, and passing through its roof, with which the young men were to be suspended by the splints passed through their flesh, and drawn up by men placed on top of the lodge for the purpose, as will be described in a few moments."

Residium of the Flood. "There were also four articles of great veneration and importance lying on the floor of the lodge, which were sacks, containing in each some three or four gallons of water. These also were objects of superstitious regard, and made with great labor and much ingenuity; each one of them being constructed of the skin of the buffalo's neck, and most elaborately sewed together in the form of a large tortoise lying on its back, with a bunch of eagle's quills appended to it as a tail; and each of them having a stick, shaped like a drum stick, lying on them, with which, in a subsequent stage of these ceremonies, as will be seen, they are beaten upon by several of their mystery men, as a part of the music for their strange dances and mysteries. By the side of these sacks which they call Eeh-teeh-ka are two other articles of equal importance, which they call Eeh-na-dee (rattles), in the form of a gourd—shell made also of dried skins, and used at the same time as the others, in the music (or rather noise and din) for their dances, etc.

"These four sacks of water have the appearance of very great antiquity; and by inquiring of my very ingenious friend and patron, the medicine-man, after the ceremonies were over, he very gravely told me, that 'those four tortoises contained the water from the four quarters of the world—that these waters had been contained therein ever since the settling down of the waters.' I did not think it best to advance any argument against so ridiculous a theory, and therefore could not even inquire or learn, at what period they had been instituted, or how often, or on what occasions, the water in them had been changed or replenished.

"I made several propositions, through my friend Mr. Kipp, the

000 trader and interpreter, to purchase one of these strange things by offering them a very liberal price; to which I received in answer that these, and all the very numerous articles used in these ceremonies, being a society property and were medicine, and could not be sold for any consideration; so I abandoned all thoughts of obtaining anything, except what I have done by the medicine operation of my pencil, which was applied to everything, and even upon that they looked with decided distrust and apprehension, as a sort of theft or sacrilege.

"Such then was the group, and such the appearance of the interior of the medicine-lodge during the three first, and part of the fourth day also, of the Mandan religious ceremonies. The medicine-man, with a group about him of the young aspirants who were under his sole control, as was every article and implement to be used, and the sanctity of this solitary and gloomy looking place, which could not be trespassed upon by any man's presence without his most sovereign permission."

Bull Dance. "During the three first days of this solemn conclave, there were many very curious forms and amusements enacted in the open area in the middle of the village, and in front of the medicine lodge, by other members of the community, one of which formed a material part or link of these strange ceremonials. This very curious and exceedingly grotesque part of their performance which they denominated Bel-lohck-nah-pick (the bull dance) of which I have before spoken, as one of the avowed objects for which they held this annual fete; and to the strictest observance of which they attribute the coming of the buffalos to supply them with food during the season—is repeated four times during the first day, eight times on the second day, twelve times on the third day, and sixteen times on the fourth day; and always around the curb, or 'big canoe,' of which I have before spoken.

"This subject I have selected for my second picture, and the principal actors in it were eight men, with the entire skins of buffalos thrown over their backs, with the horns and hoofs and tails remaining on; their bodies in a horizontal position, enabling them to imitate the actions of the buffalo, whilst they were looking out of its eyes as through a mask. The bodies of these men were chiefly naked and all painted in the most extraordinary manner, with the nicest adherence to exact similarity; their limbs, bodies and faces, being in every party covered, either with black, red or white paint. Each one of these strange characters had also a lock of buffalo's hair tied around his ankles—in his right hand a rattle, and a slender white rod or staff, six feet long, in the other; and carried on his back, a bunch of green willow boughs about the usual size of a bundle of straw. These eight men, being divided into four pairs, took their positions on the four different sides of the curb or big canoe, representing thereby the four cardinal points; and between each group of them, with the back turned to the big canoe, was another figure, engaged in the same dance, keeping step with them, with similar staff or wand in one hand and a rattle in the other, and (being four in number) answering again to the four cardinal points. The bodies of these four young men were chiefly naked, with no other dress upon them than a beautiful kelt (or quartz quaw), around the waist, made of eagles' quills and ermine, and very splendid head-dresses made of the same materials. Two of these figures were painted entirely black with pounded charcoal and grease, whom they called the 'firmament or night,' and the numerous white spots which were dotted all over their bodies, they called 'stars.' The other two were painted from head to foot as red as vermillion could make them; these they said represented the day, and the white streaks which were painted up and down over their bodies, were 'ghosts which the morning rays were chasing away.'

"These twelve are the only persons actually engaged in this strange dance, which is each time repeated in the same form, without the slightest variation. There are, however, a great number of characters engaged in giving the whole effect and wildness to this strange and laughable scene, each one acting well his part, and whose offices, strange and inexplicable as they are, I will endeavor to point out and explain as well as I can, from what I saw, elucidated by their own descriptions.

"This most remarkable scene, then, which is witnessed more or less often on each day, takes place in the presence of the whole nation, who are generally gathered around, on the tops of the wigwams or otherwise, as spectators, whilst the young men are reclining and fasting in the lodge as above described. On the first day, this 'bull dance' is given once to each of the cardinal

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 points, and the medicine-man smokes his pipe in those directions. On the second day, twice to each; three times to each on the third day, and four times to each on the fourth. As a signal for the dancers and other characters (as well as the public) to assemble, the old man, master of ceremonies, with the medicine-pipe in hand, dances out of the lodge, singing (or rather crying) forth a most pitiful lament, until he approaches the big canoe, against which he leans, with the pipe in his hand, and continues to cry. At this instant, four very aged and patriarchal looking men, whose bodies are painted red, and who have been guarding the four sides of the lodge, enter and bring out the four sacks of water, which they place near the big canoe, where they seat themselves by the side of them and commence thrumping on them with the mallets or drumsticks which have been lying on them; and another brandishes and shakes the eeh-na-dees or rattles, and all unite to them their voices, raised to the highest pitch possible, as the music for the bull dance, which is then commenced and continued for fifteen minutes or more in perfect time, and without cessation or intermission. When the music and dancing stop, which are always perfectly simultaneous, the whole nation raise the huzza, and a deafening shout of approbation; the master of ceremonies dances back to the medicine-lodge, and the old men return to their former place; the sacks of water, and all rest as before, until by the same method, they are again called into a similar action.

"The supernumeraries or other characters who play their parts in this grand spectacle are numerous and well worth description. By the side of the big canoe are seen two men with the skins of grizzly bears thrown over them, using the skins as a mask over their heads. These ravenous animals are continually growling and threatening to devour everything before them and interfering with the forms of their religious ceremony. To appease them the women are continually bringing and placing before them dishes of meat, which are as often snatched up and carried to the prairie, by two men whose bodies and painted black and their heads white, whom they call bald eagles. who are darting by them and grasping their food from before them as they pass. These are again chased upon the plains by a hundred or more small boys, who are naked, with their bodies painted yellow and their heads white, whom they call Cabris or antelopes; who at length get the food away from them and devour it; thereby inculcating (perhaps) the beautiful moral, that by the dispensations of providence, his bountiful gifts will fall at last to the hands of the innocent.

"During the intervals between these dances, all these characters, except those from the medicine-lodge, retire to a wigwam close by, which they use on the occasion also as a sacred place, being occupied exclusively by them while they are at rest, and also for the purpose of painting and ornamenting their bodies for the occasion.

"During each and every one of these dances, the old men who beat upon the sacks and sing, are earnestly chanting forth their supplications to the Great Spirit, for the continuation of his influence in sending them buffalos to supply them with food during the year; they are administrating courage and fortitude to the young men in the lodge, by telling them, that 'the Great Spirit has opened his ears in their behalf—that the very atmosphere all about them is peace—that their women and children can hold the mouth of the grizzly bear—that they have invoked from day to day O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit)—that they are still challenging him to come, and yet he has not dared to make his appearance.'

The "Evil Spirit." "But alas! In the last of these dances, on the fourth day, in the midst of all their mirth and joy, and about noon, in the height of all these exaltations, an instant scream burst forth from the top of these lodges. Men, women, dogs and all, seemed actually to howl and shudder with alarm, as they fixed their glaring eyeballs upon the prairie bluff, about a mile in the west, down the side of which a man was seen descending at full speed towards the village. This strange character darted about in a zig-zag course in all directions on the prairie, like a boy in pursuit of a butterfly, until he approached the piquets of the village, when it was discovered that his body was entirely naked, and painted as black as a negro, with pounded charcoal and bear's grease; his body was therefore every where of a shining black, except occasionally white rings of an inch or more in diameter, which were marked here and there all over him; and frightful indentures of white around his mouth, resembling canine teeth. Added to his hideous appearance he gave the most fright-

000

ful shrieks and screams as he dashed through the village and entered the terrified group, which was composed (in that quarter) chiefly of females, who had assembled to witness the amusements which were transpiring around the 'big canoe.'

"The unearthly looking creature carried in his two hands a wand or staff of eight or nine feet in length, with a red ball at the end of it, which he continually slid on the ground ahead of him as he ran. All eyes in the village, save those of the persons engaged in the dance, were centered about him, and he made a desperate rush toward the women, who screamed for protection as they were endeavoring to retreat; and falling in groups upon each other as they were struggling to get out of his reach. In this moment of general terror and alarm there was an instant check! And all for a few moments were as silent as death."

Satan Overcame. "The old master of ceremonies, who had run from his position at the big canoe, had met this monster of fiends, and having thrust the medicine-pipe before him, held him still and immoveable under its charm. This check gave the females an opportunity to get out of his reach, and when they were free from their danger, though all hearts beat yet with the instant excitement, their alarm soon cooled down into the most exorbitant laughter and shouts of applause at his sudden defeat, and the awkward and ridiculous posture in which he was stopped and held. The old man was braced stiff by his side, with his eyeballs glaring him in the face, whilst the medicine-pipe held in its mystic chains his Satanic Majesty, annulling all the powers of his magical wand, and also depriving him of the powers of locomotion. Surely no two human beings ever presented a more striking group than these two individuals did for a few moments, with their eyeballs set in direst mutual hatred upon each other; both struggling for the supremacy, relying on the potency of their medicine or mystery. The one held in check, with his body painted black, representing (or rather assuming to be) his sable majesty, O-kee-hee-he (the Evil Spirit), frowning everlasting vengeance on the other, who sternly gazed him back with a look of exultation and contempt, as he held him in check and disarmed under the charm of his sacred mystery-pipe.

"When the superior powers of the medicine-pipe (on which hang all these annual mysteries) had been thus fully tested and acknowledged, and the women had had requisite time to withdraw from the reach of this fiendish monster, the pipe was very gradually withdrawn from before him, and he seemed delighted to recover the use of his limbs again, and power of changing his position from the exceedingly unpleasant and really ridiculous one he appeared in, and was compelled to maintain, a few minutes before; rendered more superlatively ridiculous and laughable, from the further information, which I am constrained to give, of the plight in which this demon of terror and vulgarity made his entree into the midst of the Mandan village, and to the center and nucleus of their first and greatest religious ceremony.

000

"Then to proceed. I said that this strange personage's body was naked—was painted jet black with charcoal and bear's grease, with a wand in his hands of eight feet in length with a red ball at the end of it, which was rubbing about on the ground in front of him as he ran."

Here follows an explanation of certain acts by the "Evil Spirit" which partake of vulgarity and which will not be quoted, consisting of further efforts to impose upon and break up the general ceremony but which are laughed at by the Indians, and under the spell of the "Medicine-pipe" his Satanic Majesty is rendered impotent. The narrative continues:

"After this he paid his visits to three others of the eight, in succession, receiving as before the deafening shouts of approbation which pealed from every mouth in the multitude, who were all praying to the Great Spirit to send them buffalos to supply them with food during the season, and who attributed the coming of buffalos for this purpose entirely to the strict and critical observance of this ridiculous and disgusting part of the ceremonies.

During the half hour or so that he had been jostled about amongst man and beasts, to the great amusement and satisfaction of the lookers-on, he seemed to have become exceedingly exhausted, and anxiously looking out for some feasible mode of escape.

"In this awkward predicament he became the laughing stock and butt for the women, who, being no longer afraid of him, were gathering in groups around to tease and tantalize him; and in the midst of this dilema, which soon became a very sad one—one of the women, who stole up behind him with both hands full of

000 yellow dirt—dashed it into his face and eyes, and all over him, and his body being covered with grease, took instantly a different hue.

"He seemed heart-broken at this signal disgrace, and commenced crying most vehemently, when, at an instant, another caught his wand from his hand, and broke it across her knee. It was snatched by others, who broke it still into bits, and then threw them at him. His power was now gone—his bodily strength was exhausted, and he made a bolt for the prairie—he dashed through the crowd, and made his way through the picquets on the back part of the village, where were placed for the purpose a hundred or more women and girls, who escorted him as he ran on the prairie for half a mile or more, beating him with sticks, and stones, and dirt, and kicks, and cuffs, until he was at length seen escaping from their clutches, and making the best of his retreat over the prairie bluffs, from whence he had first appeared.

At the moment of this signal victory, and when all eyes lost sight of him as he disappeared over the bluffs, the whole village united their voices in shouts of satisfaction. The bull-dance then stopped, and preparations were instantly made for the commencement of the cruelties which were to take place within the lodge, leaving us to draw, from what had just transpired, the following beautiful moral:

"That in the midst of their religious ceremonies, the Evil Spirit (O-kee-hee-de) made his entree for the purpose of doing mischief, and of disturbing their worship—that he was held in check, and defeated by the superior influence and virtue of the medicine pipe, and at last, driven in disgrace out of the village, by the very part of the community whom he came to abuse."

Ceremonial Tortures. "At the close of this exciting scene, preparations were made, as above stated, by the return of the master of ceremonies and musicians to the medicine-lodge, where also were admitted at the same time a number of men, who were to be instruments of the cruelties to be inflicted; and also the chief and doctors of the tribe, who were to look on, and bear witness to, and decide upon, the comparative degree of fortitude, with which the young men sustained themselves in this most extreme and excruciating ordeal. The chiefs having seated them-

000

selves on one side of the lodge, dressed out in their robes and splendid head-dresses—the band of music seated and arranged themselves in another part; and the old master of ceremonies having placed himself in front of a small fire in the center of the lodge, with his 'big pipe' in his hands, and having commenced smoking to the Great Spirit, with all possible vehemence for the success of these aspirants, presented the subjects for the third picture, which they call 'pohk-hong,' the cutting scene. Around the sides of the lodge are seen still reclining, as I have before mentioned, a part of the group, whilst others of them have passed the ordeal of self-tortures, and have been removed out of the lodge; and others still are seen in the very act of submitting to them which were inflicted in the following manner: After having removed the **Sanctissimus Sanctorum**, or little scaffold, of which I before spoke, and having removed also the buffalo and human skulls from the floor, and attached them to the posts of the lodge; and two men having taken their positions near the middle of the lodge, for the purpose of inflicting the tortures—the one with the scalping knife, and the other with a bunch of splints (which I have before mentioned) in his hand; one at a time of the young fellows, already emaciated with fasting, and thirsting, and waking, for nearly four days and nights, advanced from the side of the lodge, and placed himself on his hands and feet, or otherwise, as best suited for the performance of the operation, where he submitted to the cruelties in the following manner: An inch or more of the flesh on each shoulder or each breast was taken up between the thumb and finger by the man who held the knife in his right hand; and the knife which had been ground sharp on both edges, and then hacked and notched with the blade of another, to make it produce as much pain as possible, was forced through the flesh below the fingers, and being withdrawn, was followed with a splint or skewer, from the other, who held a bunch of such in his left hand, and was ready to force them through the wound. There were then two cords lowered down from the top of the lodge (by men who were placed on the lodge outside, for the purpose), which were fastened to these splints or skewers, and they instantly began to haul him up; he was thus raised until his body was suspended from the ground where he rested, until the knife and a splint were passed through the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 flesh or integuments in a similar manner on each arm below the shoulder (over the **brachialis externus**), below the elbow (over the **extensor carpi radialis**), on the thighs (over the **vastus externus**), and below the knees (over the **peroneus**).

"In some instances they remained in a reclining position on the ground until this painful operation was finished, which was performed, in all instances, exactly on the same parts of the body and limbs; and which in its progress, occupied some five or six minutes.

"Each one was then instantly raised with the cords, until the weight of his body was suspended by them, and then while the blood was streaming down their limbs, the bystanders hung upon the splints of each man's appropriate shield, bow and quiver, etc., and in many instances, the skull of a buffalo with the horns on it, was attached to each lower arm and each lower leg, for the purpose, probably, of preventing by their great weight, the struggling which might otherwise have taken place to their disadvantage whilst they were hung up.

"When these things were all adjusted, each one was raised higher by the cords, until these weights all swung clear from the ground, leaving his feet in most cases, some six or eight feet above the ground. In this plight they at once became appalling and frightful to look at—the flesh, to support the weight of their bodies, with the additional weights which were attached to them, was raised six or eight inches by the skewers; and their heads sank forward on their breasts, or thrown backwards, in a much more frightful condition, according to the way in which they were hung up.

"The unflinching fortitude, with which every one of them bore this part of the torture surpassed credulity; each one as the knife was passed through his flesh sustained an unchangable countenance; and several of them, seeing me making sketches, beckoned me to look at their faces, which I watched through all this horrid operation, without being able to detect anything but the pleasentest smiles as they looked me in the eye, while I could hear the knife rip through the flesh, and feel enough of it myself, to start involuntary and uncontrolable tears over my cheeks.

"When raised in the condition above described, and completely

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

suspended by the cords the sanguinary bands, through which he had just passed, turned back to perform a similar operation on another who was ready, and each one in his turn passed into the charge of others, who instantly introduced him to a new and improved stage of their refinements in cruelty.

000

"Surrounded by imps and demons as they appear, a dozen or more who seemed to be concerting and devising means for his exquisite agony, gather around him, when one of the number advances towards him in a sneering manner, and commences turning him around with a pole which he brings in his hand for the purpose. This is done in a gentle manner at first; but gradually increased, when the brave fellow, whose proud spirit can control its agony no longer, burst out in the most lamentable and heart-rendering cries that the human voice is capable of producing, crying forth to the Great Spirit to support and protect him in this dreadful trial; and continually repeating his confidence in his protection. In this condition he is continued to be turned, faster and faster—and there is no hope of escape from it, nor chance for the slightest relief, until by fainting, his voice falters, and his struggling ceases, and he hangs apparently, a still and lifeless corpse! When he is by turning, gradually brought to this condition, which is generally done within ten or fifteen minutes, there is a close scrutiny passed upon him, among his tormentors, who are checking and holding each other back as long as the least struggling or tremor can be discovered, lest he should be removed before he is (as they term it) 'entirely dead.'

/

"When brought to this alarming and most frightful condition, and the turning has gradually ceased, as his voice and his strength have given out, leaving him hanging entirely still, and apparently lifeless; when his tongue is distended from his mouth, and his medicine-bag, which he has affectionately and superstitiously clung to with his left hand, has dropped to the ground; the signal is given to the men on top of the lodge, by gently striking the cord with the pole below, when they very gradually and carefully lower him to the ground.

"In this helpless condition he lies, like a loathsome corpse to look at, though in keeping (as they call it) of the Great Spirit, whom he trusts will protect him, and enable him to get up and walk away. As soon as he is lowered to the ground thus, one of

000 the bystanders advances, and pulls out the two splints, or pins, from the breasts and shoulders, thereby disengaging him from the cords by which he has been hung up; but leaving all the others with their weights, etc., hanging to his flesh.

"In this condition he lies for six or eight minutes, until he gets strength to rise and move himself, for no one is allowed to assist or offer him aid, as he is here enjoying the most valued privilege which a Mandan can boast of, that of trusting his life to the keeping of the Great Sprit, in this time of extreme peril."

Great Spirit Revives Victim. "As soon as he is seen to get strength enough to rise on his hands and feet, and drag his body around the lodge, he crawls with the weights still hanging to his body, to another part of the lodge, where there is another Indian sitting with a hatchet in his hands, and a dried buffalo skull before him; and here in the most earnest and humble manner, by holding up the little finger of his left hand to the Great Spirit, he expresses to him, in a speech of a few words, his willingness to give it as a sacrifice; when he lays it on the dried buffalo skull, where the other chops it off near the hand, with a blow of the hatchet.

"Nearly all the young men whom I saw passing this horrid ordeal, gave in the above manner, the little finger of the left hand; and I saw also several, who immediately afterwards (and apparently with very little concern or emotion), with a similar speech, extended in the same way, the forefinger of the same hand, and that too was struck off; leaving on the left hand only the two middle fingers and the thumb; all of which they deem absolutely essential for holding the bow, the only weapon for the left hand.

"One would think that this mutilation had thus been carried quite far enough; but I have since examined several of the head chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe, who have also given, in this manner, the little finger of the right hand, which is considered by them to be a much greater sacrifice than both of the others; and I have found also a number of their most famous men, who furnish me incontestable proof, by five or six corresponding scars on each arm, and each breast, and each leg, that they had so many times in their lives submitted to this almost incredible operation, which seems to have been optional with them; and the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

oftener they volunteer to go through it, the more famous they become in the estimation of their tribe.

"No bandages are applied to the fingers which have been amputated, nor any arteries taken up; nor is any attention whatever, paid to them or the other wounds; but they are left (as they say) 'for the Great Spirit to cure,' who will surely take good care of them. It is a remarkable fact (which I learned from a close inspection of their wounds from day to day) that the bleeding is but very slight and soon ceases, probably from the fact of their extreme exhaustion and debility, caused by want of sustenance and sleep, which checks the natural circulation, and admirably at the same time prepares them to meet the severity of these tortures without the same degree of sensibility and pain, which, under other circumstances, might result in inflammation and death.

"During the whole of the time of this cruel part of these most extraordinary inflictions, the chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe are looking on to decide who are the hardiest and "stoutest hearted'—who can hang the longest by his flesh before he faints, and who will be soonest up ,after he has been down; that they may know whom to appoint to lead a war party, or to place at the most honorable and desperate post. The four old men are incessantly beating upon the sacks of water and singing the whole time, with their voices strained to the highest key, vaunting forth for the encouragement of the young men, the power and efficacy of the medicine-pipe, which has disarmed the monster O-keó-hee-de (or Evil Spirit), and driven him from the village, and will be sure to protect them and watch over them through their present severe trial.

"As soon as six or eight had passed the ordeal as above described, they were led out of the lodge, with their weights hanging to their flesh, and dragging on the ground, to undergo another, and still more appalling mode of suffering in the center of the village, and in the presence of the whole nation, in the manner as follows:

Last Race. "The signal for the commencement of this part of the cruelties was given by the old master of ceremonies, who again ran out as in the buffalo dance, and leaning against the big canoe, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, began to cry. This was done several times in the afternoon, as often as there were six

000 or eight who had passed the ordeal just described within the lodge, who were then taken out in the open area in the presence of the whole village, with the buffalo skulls and other weights attached to their flesh and dragging on the ground. There were then in readiness, and prepared for the purpose, about twenty young men, selected of equal height and equal age; with their bodies chiefly naked, with beautiful (and similar) head-dresses of war-eagles' quills, on their heads, and a wreath made of willow boughs held in the hands between them, connecting them in a chain or circle in which they run around the big canoe, with all possible speed, raising their voices in screams and yelps to the highest pitch that was possible, and keeping the curb or big canoe in the center, as their nucleus.

"Then were led forward the young men who were further to suffer, and being placed at equal distances apart, and outside of the ring just described, each one was taken in charge of two athletic young men, fresh and strong, who stepped up to him, one on each side, and by wrapping a broad leather strap around his wrists, without tying it, grasped it firm underneath the hand, and stood prepared for what they call Eh-ke-nah-ka-nah-pick (the last race). This the spectator looking on would suppose was most correctly named, for he would think it was the last race he could possibly run in this world.

"In this condition they stand, pale and ghastly, from abstainence and loss of blood, until all are prepared, and the word is given, then all start and run around, outside of the other ring; and each poor fellow with his weights dragging on the ground, and his furious conductors by his side, who hurry him forward by the wrists, struggles in the desperate emulation to run longer without 'dying' (as they call it) than his comrades, who are fainting around him and sinking down, like himself, where their bodies are dragged with all possible speed, and often with their faces in the dirt. In the commencement of this dance or race they all start at a moderate pace, and their speed being gradually increased, the pain becomes so excruciating that their languid and exhausted frames give out, and they are dragged by their wrists, until they are disengaged from the weights that were attached to their flesh, and this must be done by such violent force as to tear the flesh out with the splint, which (as they say) can never

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

be pulled out end-ways, without greatly offending the Great Spirit and defeating the object for which they have thus far suffered. The splints or skewers which are put through the breast and shoulders, take up a part of the pectoral or trapezius muscle, which is necessary for the support of the great weight of their bodies, and which, as I have before mentioned, are withdrawn as soon as he is lowered down—but all the others, on the legs and arms, seem to be very ingeniously placed through the flesh and integuments without taking up the muscle, and even these to be broken out, require so strong and so violent a force that most of the poor fellows fainted under the operation, and when they were freed from the last of the buffalo skulls and other weights, (which was often done by some of the bystanders throwing the weight of their bodies on them as they were dragging on the ground) they were in every instance dropped by the persons who dragged them, and their bodies were left, appearing like nothing but a mangled and loathsome corpse. At this strange and frightful juncture, the two men who had dragged them, fled through the crowd and away upon the prairie, as if they were guilty of some enormous crime, and were fleeing from summary vengeance. 300

"Each poor fellow having thus patiently and manfully endured the privations and tortures devised for him, and (in this last struggle with the most appalling effort) tore himself loose from them and his tormentors, he lies the second time, in the 'keeping (as he terms it) of the Great Spirit,' to whom he issues his repeated prayers, and entrusts his life; and in whom he reposes the most implicit confidence for his preservation and recovery. As an evidence of this, and of the high value which these youths set upon this privilege, there is no person, not a relation or a chief of the tribe, who is allowed, or who would dare, to step forward to offer an aiding hand, even to save his life; for not only the rigid customs of the nation, and the pride of the individual who has intrusted his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit, would sternly reject such a tender; but their superstitions, which is the strongest of all arguments in an Indian community, would alone, hold all the tribe in fear and dread of interfering, when they consider they have so good a reason to believe that

000

the Great Spirit has undertaken the special care and protection of his devoted worshippers.

"In this 'last race,' which was the struggle which finally closed their sufferings, each one was dragged until he fainted, and was thus left, looking more like the dead than the living; and thus each one laid, until, by the aid of the Great Spirit, he was in a few minutes seen gradually rising, and at last reeling and staggering, like a drunken man, through the crowd (which made way for him) to his wigwam, where his friends and relatives stood ready to take him in hand and restore him.

"In this frightful scene, as in the buffalo dance, the whole nation was assembled as spectators, and all raised the most piercing and violent yells and screams they could possibly produce, to drown the cries of the suffering ones, that no heart could even be touched with sympathy for them. I have mentioned before, that six or eight of the young men were brought from the medicine-lodge at a time, and when they were thus passed through this shocking ordeal, the medicine-man and the chiefs returned to the interior, where as many more were soon prepared, and underwent a similar treatment, and after that another batch, and another, and so on, until the whole number, some forty-five or fifty had run in this sickening circle, and by leaving their weights, had opened the flesh for honorable scars. I said all, but there was one poor fellow though (and I shudder to tell it), who was dragged around and around the circle, with the skull of an elk hanging to the flesh on one of his legs—several had jumped upon it, but to no effect, for the splint was under the sinew, which could not be broken. The dragging became every instant more and more furious, and the apprehensions for the poor fellow's life, apparent by the piteous howl which was set up for him by the multitude around; and at last the medicine-man ran, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, and held them in check, when the body was dropped, and left upon the ground, with the skull yet hanging to it. The boy, who was an extremely interesting and fine looking youth, soon recovered his senses and his strength, looking deliberately at his torn and bleeding limbs; and also with the most pleasant smile of defiance, upon the misfortune which had now fallen to his peculiar lot, crawled through the crowd (instead of walking, which they are

000

never again at liberty to do until the flesh is torn out, and the article is left) to the prairie, and over which, for the distance of half a mile, to a sequested spot, without any attendant, where he lay three days and three nights, yet longer, without food, and praying to the Great Spirit, until suppuration took place in the wound, and by the decaying of the flesh the weight was dropped, and the splint also, which he dare not extricate in another way. At the end of this, he crawled back to the village on his hands and knees, being too much emaciated to walk, and begged for something to eat, which was at once given him, and he was soon restored to health.

"These extreme and difficult cases often occur, and I learn that in such instances the youth has it at his option to get rid of the weight that is thus left upon him, in such way as he may choose, and some of these modes are far more extraordinary than the one which I have just named. Several of the traders, who have been for a number of years in the habit of seeing this part of the ceremony, have told me that two years since, when they were looking on, there was one whose flesh on the arms was so strong that the weights could not be left, and he dragged them with his body to the river by the side of the village, where he set a stake fast in the ground on the top of the bank, and fastening cords to it, he let himself half way down a perpendicular wall of rock, of twenty-five or thirty feet, where the weight of his body was suspended by the two cords attached to the flesh of his arms. In this awful condition he hung for several days, equidistant from the top of the rock and the deep water below, into which he at last dropped and saved himself by swimming ashore."

Superior Stoicism. "I need record no more of these shocking and disgusting instances, of which I have already given enough to convince the world of the correctness of the established fact of the Indian's superior stoicism and power of endurance, although some recent writers have, from motives of envy, from ignorance, or something else, taken great pains to cut the poor Indian short in everything, and in this, even as if it were a virtue.

"I am ready to accord to them in this particular, the palm; the credit of out-doing anything and everybody, and of enduring more

000 than civilized man ever aspired to or ever thought of. My heart has sickened also with disgust for so abominable and ignorant a custom, and still I stand ready with all my heart, to excuse and forgive them for adhering so strictly to an ancient celebration, founded in superstitions and mysteries, of which they knew not the origin, and constituting a material part and feature in the code and forms of their religion.

"Reader, I will return with you a moment to the medicine-lodge, which is just to be closed, and then we will indulge in some general reflections upon what has passed, and in what, and for what purposes this strange batch of mysteries has been instituted and perpetuated.

"After these young men, who had for the last four days occupied the medicine-lodge, had been operated on, in the manner above described, and taken out of it, the old medicine-man, master of ceremonies, returned, (still crying to the Great Spirit) sole tenant of that sacred place, and brought out the 'edged tools,' which I have before said had been collected at the door of every man's wigwam, to be given as a sacrifice to the water, and leaving the lodge securely fastened, he approached the bank of the river, when all the medicine-men attended him, and all the nation were spectators; and in their presence he threw them from a high bank into very deep water, from which they cannot be recovered, and where they are, correctly speaking, made a sacrifice to the water. This part of the affair took place just exactly at sun-down, and closed the scene, being the end or the finale of the Mandan **Religious Ceremony.**"

Catlin appends this certificate to his text relative to the Mandan ceremonies:

Catlin's Certificate. "The reader will forgive me for here inserting the certificate which I have just received from Mr. Kipp, of the city of New York, and two others, who were with me; which I offer for the satisfaction of the world, who read the above account.

"'We hereby certify, that we witnessed, in company with Mr. Catlin, in the Mandan village, the ceremonies represented in the four paintings, and described in his notes, to which this certificate refers; and that he has therein faithfully represented those scenes as we saw them transacted, without any addition or exaggeration.

'J. KIPP, Agent Amer. Fur Company.
L. CRAWFORD, Clerk.
ABRAHAM BOGARD.'

"'Mandan village, July 20, 1833.'"

Mandan Flood Traditions. "The strange country that I am in—its excitements—its accidents and wild incidents which startle me at almost every moment, prevent me from any very elaborate disquisition upon the above remarkable events at present; and even had I all the time and leisure of a country gentleman, and all the additional information which I am daily procuring and daily expect to procure hereafter in explanation of these unaccountable mysteries, yet do I fear that there would be that inexplicable difficulty that hangs over most of the customs and traditions of these simple people, who have no history to save facts and systems from falling into the most absurd and disjointed fable and ignorant fiction.

"What few plausible inferences I have as yet been able to draw from the above strange and peculiar transactions I will set forth, but with some diffidence, hoping and trusting that by further intimacy and familiarity with these people I may yet arrive at more satisfactory and important results.

"That these people should have a tradition of the flood is by no means surprising; as I have learned from every tribe I have visited, that they all have some high mountain in their vicinity, where they insist upon it the big canoe landed; but that these people should hold an annual celebration of the event, and the season of that decided by such circumstances as the full leaf of the willow, and the medicine-lodge opened by such a man as Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (who appears to be a white man), and making his appearance from the high mountains in the west; and some other circumstances, is surely a very remarkable thing, and requires some extraordinary attention.

"This Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (first or only man) is undoubtedly some mystery or medicine-man of the tribe, who has gone out on the prairie on the evening previous, and having dressed and painted himself for the occasion, comes into the village in the morning, endeavoring to keep up the semblance of reality; for their tradition says, that at a very ancient period such a man did actually come from the west—that his body was of a white color. as this man's body is represented—that he wore a robe of four white wolf skins—his head-dress was made of two raven's skins—and in his left hand was a hugh pipe. He said 'he was at one time the only man—he told them of the destruction of everything on the earth's surface by water—that he stopped in his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he landed and was saved.' "

Annual Sacrifices. " 'That the Mandans, and all other people were bound to make yearly sacrifices of some edged-tools to the water, for of such things the big canoe was made. Then he instructed the Mandans how to build their medicine-lodge, and taught them also the forms of these annual ceremonies; and told them that as long as they made these sacrifices, and performed their rites to the full letter, they might be assured of the fact, that they would be the favorite people of the Almighty, and would always have enough to eat and drink; and that so soon as they should depart in one tittle from these forms, they might be assured, that their race would decrease, and finally run out; and that they might date their nation's calamity to that omission or neglect.'

"These people, have no doubt, been long living under the dread of such an injunction, and in the fear of departing from it; and while they are living in total ignorance of its origin, the world must remain equally ignorant of much of its meaning, as they needs must be of all Indian customs resting on ancient traditions, which soon run into fables, having lost all their system by which they might have been construed.

"This strange and unaccountable custom is undoubtedly peculiar to the Mandans; although, amongst the Minatarees, and some others of the neighboring tribes, they have seasons of abstinence and self-torture, somewhat similar, but bearing no other resemblance to this than a mere feeble effort or form of imitation."

The Willow Branch. "It would seem from their traditions of the willow branch, and the dove, that these people must have had some proximity to some parts of the civilized world; or that missionaries or others have been formerly among them, inculcating

000

the Christian religion and the Mosaic account of the flood; which is in this and some other respects, decidedly different from the theory which most natural people have distinctly established of that event.

"There are other strong and almost decisive proofs in my opinion in support of the assertion, which are to be drawn from the diversity of colour in their hair and complexions, as I have before described, as well as from their traditions just related, of the 'first and only man,' whose body was white, and who came from the west, telling them of the destruction of the earth by water, and instructing them in the forms of these mysteries; and, in addition to the above, I will add the two following very curious stories, which I had from several of their old and dignified chiefs, and which are, no doubt, standing and credited traditions of the tribe."

Vine Legend. " 'The Mandans (people of the pheasants) were the first people created in the world, and they originally lived inside of the earth; they raised many vines, and one of them had grown up through a hole in the earth overhead, and one of their young men climbed up it until he came out on top of the ground, on the bank of the river, where the Mandan village stands. He looked around, and admired the beautiful country and prairies about him—saw many buffaloes—killed one with his bow and arrows, and found that its meat was good to eat. He returned and related what he had seen, when a number of others went up the vine with him, and witnesseth the same things. Amongst those who went up, were two very pretty young women, who were favorites with the chiefs, because they were virgins, and amongst those who were trying to get up, was a very large and fat woman, who was ordered by the chiefs not to go up, but whose curiosity led her to try it as soon as she got a secret opportunity, when there was no one present. When she got part of the way up, the vine broke under the great weight of her body and let her down. She was very much hurt by the fall, but did not die. The Mandans were very sorry about this, and she was disgraced for being the cause of a very great calamity, which she had brought upon them, and which could never be averted, for no more could ever ascend, nor could those descend who had got up; but they build the Mandan village, where it formerly stood, a great ways

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

below on the river; and the remainder of the people live under ground to this day.'

"The above tradition is told with great gravity by their chiefs and doctors or mystery-men; and the latter profess to hear their friends talk through the earth at certain times and places, and even consult them for their opinions and advice on many important occasions.

"The next tradition runs thus:

The Evil Spirit. " 'At a very ancient period, O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit, the black fellow mentioned in the religious ceremonies) came to the Mandan village with Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) from the west, and sat down by a woman who had but one eye and was hoeing corn. Her daughter, who was very pretty, came up to her and the evil spirit desired her to go and bring some water, but wished before she started, she would come to him and eat some buffalo meat. He told her to take a piece out of his side, which she did, and ate it, which proved to be buffalo fat. She then went for the water, which she brought, and met them in the village where they had walked, and they both drank of it—nothing more was done.

" 'The friends of the girl soon after endeavored to disgrace her, by telling her that she was **enciente,** which she did not deny. She declared her innocence at the same time, and boldly defied any man in the village to come forward and accuse her. This raised a great excitement in the village, and as no one could stand forth to accuse her, she was looked upon as great medicine.

"She soon after went off secretely to the upper Mandan village, where the child was born.

" 'Great search was made for her before she was found; as it was expected that the child would also be great medicine or mystery, and of great importance to the existence and welfare of the tribe. They were induced to this belief from the very strange manner of its conception and birth, and were soon confirmed in it from the wonderful things which it did at an early age. They say that amongst other miracles which he performed, when the Mandans were like to starve, he gave them four buffalo bulls, which filled the whole village, leaving as much meat as there was before they had eaten, saying that these four bulls would supply them forever. Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was

000

bent on the destruction of the child, and after making many fruitless searches for it, found it hidden in a dark place, and put it to death by throwing it into the river.

"'When O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit) heard of the death of this child, he sought for Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah with intent to kill him. He traced him for a long distance, and at length found him at Heart River, about seventy miles below the village, with the big medicine pipe in his hand, the charm or mystery of which protects him from all his enemies. They soon agreed, however, to become friends, smoked the big pipe together and returned to the Mandan village.

"The Evil Spirit was satisfied, and Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah told the Mandans never to pass the Heart River to live, for it was the center of the world, and to live beyond it would be destruction to them, and he named it Nat-com-pa-sa-hah (heart or center of the world.)'

"Such are a few of the principal traditions of these people, which I have thought proper to give in this place, and I have given them in their own way, with all the imperfections and absurd inconsistencies which should be expected to characterize the history of all ignorant and superstitious people who live in a state of simple and untaught nature, with no other means of perpetuating historical events, than by oral traditions.

"I advance these vague stories then, as I have done, and shall do in other instances, not in support of any theory, but merely as I have heard them related by the Indians; and preserved them, as I have everything else that I could meet in the Indian habits and character, for the information of the world, who may get more time to theorize than I have at present; and who may consider better than I can, how far such traditions should be taken as evidence of the facts, that these people have for a long period preserved and perpetuated an imperfect knowledge of the deluge—of the appearance and death of a Saviour—and of the trangressions of mother Eve."

Earth a Tortoise. "I am not yet able to learn from these people whether they have any distinct theory of the creation; as they seem to date nothing further back than their own existence as a people; saying (as I have before mentioned) that they were the first people created; involving the glaring absurdities that

000

they were the only people on earth before the flood, and the only one saved was a white man; or that they were created inside of the earth as their tradition says; and that they did not make their appearance on its outer surface until after the deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other gifts, 'to be taken for what it is worth,' and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back; that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch badgers; and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise shell, and it sank down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. And on the next day, while I was painting his portrait, he told me [illegible] were four tortoises—one in the north, one in the east, one in the south, and one in the west; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth.

"These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance, however, the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advanced diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

"And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described."

Four Cardinal Points, Etc. "The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good will and favor of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe upwards before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offer the stem to the four **cardinal points** in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, pasing it around amongst the group.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"The **annual religious** ceremony invariably lasts **four** days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the four cardinal points, or the 'four tortoises,' seem to me to be worthy of further notice. **Four** men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said) to cleanse out and prepare the medicine lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the north part of the village, one from the east, one from the south and one from the west. The **four** sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the **four** buffalo, and the **four** human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the **four** couples of dancers in the bull-dance, as before described; and also the **four** intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described. 000

"The bull-dance in front of the medicine-lodge, repeated on the **four** days, is danced **four** times on the first day, **eight** times on the second, **twelve** times on the third, and **sixteen** times on the fourth (adding **four** dances on each of the **four** days) which added together makes **forty**, the exact number of days that it rained upon the earth, according to the Mosaic account, to produce the deluge. There are **four** sacrifices of black and blue cloths erected over the door of the medicine-lodge, the visits of O-kee-hee-de (or Evil Spirit) were paid to **four** of the buffaloes in the buffalo dance, as above described; and in every instance, the young men who underwent the tortures before explained, had **four** splints or skewers run through the flesh on their legs, **four** through the arms and **four** through the body.

"Such is a brief account of these strange scenes which I have just been witnessing, and such my brief history of the Mandans. I might write much more of them, giving yet a volume on their stories and traditions; but it would be a volume of fables, and scarce worth recording. A nation of Indians in their primitive condition, where there are no historians, have but a temporary historical existence, for the reason above advanced, and their history, what can be certainly learned of it, may be written in a very small compass.

"I have dwelt longer on the history and customs of these people than I have or shall on any other tribe, in all probability, and that

000

from the fact that I have found them a very peculiar people, as will be seen by my notes."

Different Origin. "From these very numerous and striking peculiarities in their personal appearance, their customs, traditions and language, I have been led conclusively to believe that they are a people of decidedly a different origin from that of any other tribe in these regions.

"From these reasons, as well as from the fact that they are a small and feeble tribe, against whom the powerful tribe of Sioux are waging a deadly war with the prospect of their extermination, and who with their limited numbers, are not likely to hold out long in their struggle for existence, I have taken more pains to portray their whole character, than my limited means will allow me to bestow upon other tribes."

Not Inhuman. "From the ignorant and barbarous and disgusting customs just recited, the world would naturally infer that these people must be the most cruel and inhuman beings in the world, yet, such is not the case, and it becomes my duty to say it, a better, more honest, hospitable and kind people, as a community, are not to be found in the world. No set of men that ever I associated with had better hearts than the Mandans, and none are quicker to embrace and welcome the white man than they are. None will press him closer to his bosom, that the pulsations of his heart may be felt, than a Mandan; and no man in any country will keep his word and guard his honour more closely."

What Catlin declares below as to the susceptibility of the Mandans to civilizing influences which would eradicate their savage religious ceremonials, etc., has been conclusively proven through contact of the missionaries with them and governmental oversight and teaching inculcated among them; since those customs long since disappeared, save as to some few of the less objectionable practices which, in a modified form, may yet remain.

Can be Civilized. "The shocking and disgusting custom that I have just described, sickens the heart and even the stomach of a traveler in the country, and he weeps for their ignorance, he pities them with all his heart for their blindness and laments that the light of civilization, of agriculture and religion cannot be extended to them, and that their hearts which are good enough, could not be turned to embrace something more rational and conducive to their true happiness.

"Many would doubtless ask, whether such a barbarous custom could be eradicated from these people, and whether their thoughts and tastes, being turned to agriculture and religion, could be made to abandon the dark and random channel in which they are drudging, and made to flow in the light and life of civilization?

"To this query, I answer yes. Although this is a custom of long standing, being a part of their religion, and probably valued as one of their dearest rights; and notwithstanding the difficulty of making inroads upon the religion of a people in whose country there is no severance of opinions, and consequently no division into different sects, with different creeds to shake their faith; I still believe, and I know, that by judicious and persevering effort, this abominable custom, and others, might be extinguished, and the beautiful green fields about the Mandan village might be turned into productive gardens, and the waving green bluffs that are spread in the surrounding distance, might be spotted with lowing kine, instead of the sneaking wolves and the hobbled war horses that are now stalking about them.

"All ignorant and superstitious people, it is a well known fact, are the most fixed and stubborn in their religious opinions, and perhaps the most difficult to divert from their established belief, from the very fact that they are the most difficult to reason with. Here is an ignorant race of human beings, who have from time immemorial, been in the habit of worshipping in their own way, and of enjoying their religious opinions without ever having heard any one to question their correctness; and in those opinions they are quiet and satisfied, and it requires a patient, gradual and untiring effort to convince such a people that they are wrong, and to work the desired change in their belief, and consequently in their actions.

"It is decidely my opinion, however, that such a thing can be done, and I do not believe there is a race of wild people on earth where the experiment could be more successfully made than amongst the kind and hospitable Mandans, nor any place where the missionary labors of pious and industrious men would be more

600 sure to succeed, or more certain to be rewarded in the world to come.

"I deem such a trial of patience and perseverance with these people of great importance, and well worth the experiment. One which I shall hope soon to see accomplished, and which, if properly conducted, I am sure will result in success. Severed as they are from the contaminating and counteracting vices which oppose and thwart most of the best efforts of the missionaries along the frontier, and free from the almost fatal prejudices which they have there to contend with, they present a better field for the labors of such benevolent teachers than they have yet worked in, and a far better chance than they have yet had that the poor Indian is not a brute, that he is a human and humane being, that he is capable of improvement, and that his mind is a beautiful blank on which anything can be written if the proper means be taken.

"The Mandans being but a small tribe, of two thousand only, and living in two villages, in sight of each other, and occupying these permanently, without roaming about like other neighboring tribes, offer undoubtedly, the best opportunity for such an experiment of any tribe in the country. The land about their villages is of the best quality for plowing and grazing, and the water just such as would be desired. Their villages are fortified with piquets or stockades, which protect them from the assaults of their enemies at home, and the introduction of agriculture (which would supply them with the necessities and luxuries of life, without the necessity of continually exposing their lives to their more numerous enemies on the plains when they are seeking in the chase the means of their subsistence) would save them from the continual wastes of life, to which, in their wars and the chase they are continually exposed, and which are calculated soon to result in their extinction.

"I deem it not folly nor idle to say that these people can be saved, nor officious to suggest to some of the very many excellent and pious men, who are almost throwing away the best energies of their lives along the debased frontier, that if they would introduce the ploughshare and their prayers amongst these people, who are so far separated from the taints and contaminating vices of the frontier, they would soon see their most ardent desires accomplished and be able to solve to the world the perplexing

000

enigma, by presenting a nation of savages, civilized and christianized (and consequently saved), in the heart of the American wilderness." (p. 184.)

We will next present portions of the accounts given by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, who visited and remained with the Mandans at their villages below Knife river in 1833. His journey up the Missouri river in general was made in the interest of science, and his keen insight into every subject of his observations and study is evidenced upon every page of his elaborate and exhaustive journal. His narratives were originally published in the German language; and in 1843 were translated into English by H. Evans Lloyd, and were thus published under the title "Travels in the Interior of North America by Maximilian, Prince of Wied," in 1843 by Ackermann & Company, London. Said English edition has now become very rare. It is to be greatly regretted that the plates from which the admirable illustrations from the drawings of Bodner, who accompanied Maximilian on his said journey, were published, are not at the disposal of the society under whose auspices this paper is written; as the subject of the Mandan Indians as treated by that renowned explorer in said journal is greatly enlivened by the numerous illustrations published therewith. Those illustrations are reprinted in connection with a reprint of Maximilian's journal by The Arthur H. Clark Company in 1906, as edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D., in the work whose title is given below. Some of the valuable notes, by Dr. Thwaites, to Maximilian's narrative on the Mandans, are herein, in the appendix, extracted or reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, from their publication entitled "Early Western Travels, 1748-1846," for which permission and courtesy this society wishes to acknowledge its deep obligations.

Maximilian arrived at the Mandan villages on November 8, 1833. Some of his extended observations will now be given:

Maximilian on the Mandans. "The Mandans (called by the Canadians, les Mandals),[11] by which name these Indians are generally known, though it was originally given them by the Sioux, were formerly a numerous people, who, according to the narrative of an aged man, lately deceased, inhabited thirteen, and perhaps more villages. They called themselves Numangkake (i. e.

man), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the man of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, etc., etc. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

Their Origin. "The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea coast.[12] Though the above named villages did not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart river; when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The smallpox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced these people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,[13] about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts, and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1,000 souls."***

Characteristics—Complexion. "The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchsi-Karehde (the flying war-eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In the general, however, they are not so tall as the Minnetarees. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have

000

they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Minnetarees is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown color; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in mature age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull; in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions. Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians; that of the children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect; his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it by artificial means. Their teeth like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth wanting even in old people, though in the latter, they are often worn very short, which is chiefly to be attributed to their chewing hard, dry meat. The women are pretty, robust and sometimes tall, but, for the most part, they are short and broad shouldered. They are but few who can be called handsome as Indians, but there are many tolerable and some pretty faces among them. It is usually said of the Mandan women that they in some respects, have a natural conformation, such as Le Vaillant and Peron ascribe to the Hottentot women; but it seems to be owing in the Mandan women, less to nature than to artificial means. The children have frequently slender limbs, and very prominent bellies. Deformed persons are very rare among the Mandans. I, however, saw a very little dwarf with a long narrow face, and one man who squinted. Persons who had lost the sight of one eye, or with a cataract, are by no means uncommon. There are several deaf and

000

dumb, among whom two brothers and a sister were all born with this defect. Some goiters, or rather, thick necks among the women, are doubtless caused by too great exertions in carrying burdens on their backs. Instances where joints of the fingers are wanting are frequent, but these come under the head of voluntary mutilations."

Color of Skin. "The color of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes a reddish, more or less dark, which might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper color. In some it is more of a greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some color in their cheeks. They do not disfigure their bodies, only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea."

Ornaments. "These Indians are vain, and in this respect childish, like all savage nations. They are very fond of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colors, with footsteps of bears or buffalos carved upon it. Nay, sometimes these frames are of a considerable size, divided at one end like a boot-jack, and ornamented with brass nails, ribbons, pieces of skin and feathers. Some had very ingeniously fastened this important appendage to their fan made of an eagle's wing. The Indian dandy is constantly consulting his mirror, and, if he has been traveling, especially in the high winds so prevalent here, he immediately has recourse to his looking-glass, and his disordered dress is most carefully arranged.

"It is remarkable that the men are far more vain than the women, and the latter are obliged to be greatly inferior to the lords of the creation in their attire and adornments. The costume of the Mandans is rather simple; by far the greatest attention is paid to the head-dress. Their hair is parted transversely

000

across the middle of the head, the front hair combed smoothly down, and generally divided into three flat bands, two of which hang down on the temples and are generally plaited. To these plaits they attach the ornaments already mentioned, which consisted of two strips of leather or cloth closely embroidered with white or azure glass beads, and intertwined with brass wire, as represented in the portrait of Pehriska-Ruhpa. If the ground of this ornament is red or blue, it is studded with white beads, and if the ground is white the beads are blue. They put this ornament in their hair and pull it over the temples; a long string is fastened to the underpart, which reaches to the waist, and is adorned with alternate rows of blue beads and white dentalium shells. Between these two singular decorated plaits there is, in the center of the forehead, a smooth flat lock, reaching to the nose, which is not ornamented, but only tied with a red ribbon. The back hair falls smoothly from the crown of the head to the waist, and is divided into many tails, an inch and a half or two inches broad, which are smeared with brownish or red clay. When the hair is not naturally long enough it is frequently lengthened with other human hair, often that of enemies whom they have killed, which is fastened on with rosin. At the back of the head they sometimes wear a long stiff ornament in the shape of a ruler, three or four fingers broad, made of small sticks intwined with wire, which is fastened to the hair, and reaches down to the shoulders. It is covered with porcupine quills, dyed of various colors, in very neat patterns. At the upper end of this ornament, an eagle's feather is affixed horizontally, the quill end of which is covered with red cloth, and the tip is ornamented with a bunch of horse hair dyed yellow. The lower white half of the feather is frequently dyed red with vermillion, and the quill covered with dyed porcupine quills. When the Indians are not in their best dresses, when they are traveling or going to the chase, they fasten their long hair in a thick bunch. When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a semi-circle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of tail feathers of the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the center of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather orna-

000 ments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this headdress.

"If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Tope had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Cheyenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss-Ochata (the dog band). The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the color with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his war-like deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow color, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilet than the most elegant Parisian belle. The color with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they color the face and hands white. The women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural color. The Mandans and Minnetarees, and all the Indians of the upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white color, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of necklaces such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' tooth, for a 100 or 150 of which they will, in exchange give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboines, Sioux, Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and northwest, are seldom used among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents, or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the body, under their buffalo robes. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown color, on some occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is, for the most part, painted all over with vermillion, or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands, in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly fine the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavors to find out some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom, the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from the merchants; often they wear many brass rings, on their fingers, and are, on the whole, excessively fond of ornaments and finery."

Buffalo Robes—Painting. "The chief article of their dress is

000 the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-sha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards. They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads, often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The center is frequently red, surrounded with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band is worked with various dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is now old-fashioned, and was worn before the colored glass beads were obtained in such numbers from the whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, especially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black, or in gay colors, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horse shoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes, but the Pawnees, Mandans, Minnetarees and Crows, are the most skillful in this art. Another mode of painting their robes is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are often of great value, they acquire great reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; paralled transverse stripes represent fire arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more carefully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not infrequently paid for

000

them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted."

Leggins—Breachcloths, Etc. "Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leather girdles, and are embroidered at the outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colors, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankles a thick bunch, which trails on the ground. The leather of which leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually of clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes.

"They, as well as all other tribes of North America, use what the English call a breachcloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woolen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck-skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but in full dress, they are embroidered with colored rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagles' feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call 'the crow,' which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboines, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Minnetarees and Blackfeet."

Apparel. "The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament."

Tattooing. "Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast

000 and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders, and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow. The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

"In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practiced by the Mandans, Minnetarees, Crows and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with red color, and with it rub their faces and frequently their hair."

Lodges—Palisades. "Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, to nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the center, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the center of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up, of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together."

Medicine-Lodge. "At the north end of this circular space is the medicine-lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practiced, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the Evil Spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the center of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins."[14]

Interior of Lodge. "The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross-beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal height are long rafters, inclining to the center; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbors, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labors of the harvest, are the occupations of

000 the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborous work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labor, etc., etc.

"In the center of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit around it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear's skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment traveling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize piled up, complete this motely assemblage. The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets.

"In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs, covered with hides, which keep off the draught of air from without, and especially protect the fire.

"The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and with some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, Minnetarees and the Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all around in the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Minnetarees are seen in their huts, sitting around the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labor. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighboring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as before said, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they may pass above eight months in their summer quarters."

Horses. "Inside of the winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Minnetarees, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or hiding places in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind."

Dogs. "When they quit their huts for a longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps. When the snow is deep they use snow-shoes, which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Minnetarees have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboines, Crows and Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's color, but generally black, or white, or else spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the northwest they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf. We likewise found among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the

000 western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux."

Hospitality. "The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintances to come and see them. Their pipes are made of the red stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red-pipe heads chiefly from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long, round, or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry. The tobacco of the whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars."

Meals. "The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes, the spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn; and sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief substance from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true, these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers and tobacco, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens."

Corn, Etc. "Of maize there are several varieties of color, to which they give different names. The several varieties are: 1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.[15]

"The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are yellow, black, striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds. 000

"The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds.

"The tobacco cultivated by the Mandans, Minnetarees and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not transplanted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed, is therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat is rubbed on it."

Cultivation. "The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children each lend a helping hand. At present the women use in their field labor, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed."

Wild Plants. "The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the upper Missouri; and to those before mentioned, I can only add the feverolles, a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there are many other roots in the prairie, which are

000 used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat and made into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use."

Animal Food. "All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the wolf, the fox, in short everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrowbones, sinews and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensible to them, since it not only furnished them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians.

"Pemmican, which is so favorite a dish among the northern Indians, it not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They do not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Pottawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations."

Families. "Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practiced, and the number of wives differ; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skillful in various kinds of work, particularly in dying and painting the buffalo robes. They extract a red color from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yellow from a lichen from the Rocky mountains; black from helianthus, as well as from a black stone or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances."

Beads—Pottery. "Among the Mandans, Minnetarees, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from colored glass. They powder those which they obtain from the traders and mould them into different shapes.[16] This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of which many travelers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthern pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate color, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The work-woman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings,and then burnt, when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing."[17]

Boats. "With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his Kiack, which is curiously covered with sealskin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual."

Courtship—Marriage. "If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavors to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law.[1] In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number.

"The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After sometime has elapsed, the young man repairs to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, etc. There are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them; but the children are often weak and sickly, in consequence, it is supposed, of the hard labor which the women have to perform. I was universally assured that the new-born children are of a reddish color. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboines."

Discipline. "The children of these Indians are subject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, cooly, bowing his head, 'This boy will some day become a great warrior.' "

Wives—Sisters. "The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it has not infrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great privileges among the Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse, on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother."

Prudery. "Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian woman; they have often two, three, or more lovers; infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she had abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man had the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he had a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian tribes is to try their fortunes with the young maidens and the women, and this together with their toilet fill up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with any coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the village or in the vicinity, or from one village to another. They have a singular mode of displaying their

1:DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavor to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of pealed osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five to six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicate the number of conquests.

"The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Minnetarees, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favorite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom his honor is intended.

"If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that color is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known to the Mandans and Minnetarees, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveler."

Relationship. "They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Minnetarees, who have doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom McKenzies, Tanner, Longsdorff, and others have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Minnetarees."

Morality—High Intelligence. "Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavorably of the moral character of the aboriginies of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevails among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquility than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the whites; but this has now been sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five,[18] the American should be reckoned immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and many desire to hear something of objects of a higher order, and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 in talent for drawing, music, etc., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawings of Mato-Tope, and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader."

Drawings. "The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:

"The cross signifies, 'I will barter, or trade.' Three animals are drawn on the right side of the cross; one is a buffalo; the two others a weasel and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

"He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand side of the cross.

"Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of the opinion that, as the whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also."

Oratory. "In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: 'The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!' And on the conclusion of peace: 'The bones

000

of our warriors are buried! The tomahawk is buried! The blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty.' Or, on the contrary: 'The chain begins to rust,' etc., etc. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honor, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travelers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative."

Pride. "The Mandans and Minnetarces are proud, and have a high sense of honor. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins was paid for a small ermine skin; whereas a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco and one or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap,; a horse for 100 or 150 elk's teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells.[19] The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Minnetarees are not dangerous, and, though, there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the whites; the former especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Minnetarees, when they meet the whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them."

At Fort Clarke. "They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as to Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the

000 place of the owners, which during the severe cold of the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 pounds of tobacco at the expense of the company. A few among them, indeed, manifest a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining room when the dinner hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent: and revenge for blood is still exercised."

Hardiness. "Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colors and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are in general less cleanly, particularly their hands, which arises from their continual and severe labor. They generally let their nails grow long.

"The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practice riding horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkable acute."

Indian Orders—Badges. "Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are distinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws.[20] They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung around the neck, and are among the badges of the unions which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of 'the foolish dogs,' or 'the dogs whose name is not known.' They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavors to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavors to purchase admission to a higher band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikue must likewise be purchased at the same time, the latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

"The second class or band is that of the crow or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, 'Father, I am poor, but I wish to purchase from you.' If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikue, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called, by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine-lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes.

"The third class, or band, is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin to which owls' feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colors in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers. They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikue, or rattle, is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken.

"If, during this time, anyone fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The whites living in the neighborhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the wood-cutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffalos might not be disturbed by the noise.

"The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance, a large cap of colored cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's and owls' feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all three kinds of feathers are mixed together. The three men before mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth, (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if anyone throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, 'there dog, eat,' to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikue of this band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened. The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe.

"The fifth band is that of the buffalos. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the bravest of all, who henceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with horns, which they set on their heads, and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes 'round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of big-horn leather, and colors here face with vermillion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffalo heads always keen in the dance at the outside of the group. imitating the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, etc.

"The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water around to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear around their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 "All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another village, to ask a friend or a companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the evening of the dance, gives up his wife for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Minnetarees, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favor, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, bringing articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, etc., which she lays piece by piece before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

"There are other dances which are bought and sold, among which are a second dance of the third band, and the dance of the half-shorn heads, which the lower class may buy before they are old enough to belong to the third band.

"The medicine feast, the insignia, and the dance belonging to the half-shorn heads, will be described in the sequel. Another dance is that of the old dogs. The band of the dogs can buy it of the buffalos before they can become buffalos, or purchase their admission to the fifth band. In the dance of the old dogs, they paint themselves white, the hands red and black, and wear a girdle of the skin of the grizzly bear, and a bunch of feathers hanging down at the back of the head.

"What is called the hot dance is now danced at Ruhptare, and by the Minnetarees, who bought it of the Arikkaras. It is executed by the little dogs whose name is not known. A large fire is kindled on the occasion, and a quantity of live coals is scattered on the ground, about which the young men dance quite naked and barefooted. The hands, with the lower part of the arms, and the feet and ankles, are painted red. A kettle, with meat cut in small pieces, is hung over the fire; and when the meat is done they plunge their hands into the boiling water, take out the meat, and eat it, at the risk of scalding themselves. The last comers are the worst off, having to dip their hands the deepest into the boiling water. During the dance they have in their hands their weapons and the schischikue.

"There is another dance which will be described in one of the following chapters. The dance is accompanied with the schischikue and drum, and is generally performed in a circle; the dancers carry in their hands the bow-lance,[21] which is adorned with feathers and bear's entrails."

Women Bands. "The Mandan women are divided precisely in the same manner as the men, into four classes, according to their age. The youngest band is called 'the band of the gun.' They wear in their hair some down feathers of the eagle, and have their peculiar dance.

"The next class into which they obtain admission, by purchase is 'the river class.' When they dance they wear an eagle's feather, fastened to the fore part of the head with a piece of white ribbon, which projects on the left side, and is entwined 'round the quill with grass.

"The third class consists of the women of the hay, who, when they dance, put on their best clothes, and sing the scalp song.

"The fourth, and last class, is the band of the white cow. They paint one eye with some color according to their taste, generally sky-blue. On the chin, this class, mostly consisting of aged women, tattoo themselves with black lines; 'round their heads they wear a broad piece of the skin of a white buffalo cow, something like a hussar's cap, with a tuft of feathers in it. A more particular discription of the dress of this band is given in the sequel.

"These unions, or bands, give occasion to many festivities, with singing, music, and dancing. But they have likewise other dances and diversions.

Scalp Dance. "One of these is the scalp dance, which may be more appropriately described among the usages of war. Their musical instruments are very simple. The mode of singing varies but little among all the American Indians; it consists of broken, deep exclamations, often intercepted by loud shouts, and is accompanied by a violent beating of time on the drum, and the rattling of the schischikue. Besides these two instruments, the

000 Mandans have long wooden pipes, at the lower end of which there is generally an eagle's feather hanging by a string. Other pipes are thicker, about twenty inches long, and are perforated with holes; in this respect they differ from the war pipe. They are sometimes ornamented with pieces of skin, etc. These are the only musical instruments of the Indians besides the war pipes."

Games. "The Indians have also many games; the game called billiards, by the French Canadians, is played by two young men, with long poles, which are often bound with leather, and have various ornaments attached to them. On a long, straight, level course, or a level path in or near the village they roll a hoop, three or four inches in diameter, covered with leather, and throw the pole at it; and the success of the game depends upon the pole passing through it. This game is also practiced among the Minnetarees, and is described, in Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains, as being played by the Pawnees, who, however, have hooked sticks, which is not the case with the tribes mentioned.

"The women are expert at playing with a large leather ball, which they let fall alternately on their foot and knee, again throwing it up and catching it, and thus keeping it in motion for a length of time without letting it fall to the ground. Prizes are given, and they often play high. The ball is often very neat and curiously covered with dyed porcupine quills. Card playing has not yet reached these Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes. The children of the Mandans and Minnetarees play with a piece of stag's horn, in which a couple of feathers are inserted; this is thrown forward, the piece of horn being foremost. About the middle of March, when the weather is fine, the children and young men play with the hoop, in the interior of which strips of leather are interwoven; its diameter is about a foot. This hoop is either rolled or thrown, and they thrust at it with a pointed stick; he who approaches the center most nearly is the winner. As soon as the ice in the river breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Minnetarees often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once. and on these occasions

000

there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out for a long time."

Superstitions—The Deluge. "The Mandans and Minnetarees are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams.[22] Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, etc. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting. The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbugny (Voyages, tom. 111. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch[23] to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the most interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connection, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people."

Deities. "According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man and every existing object.[24] They believe that he had a tail, and appears sometimes in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of

000 life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of these tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, who has, likewise, much influence over man, but who, is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid to offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabitating it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of creation), the second, is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, 'the woman who wears a plume.' The second daughter, called 'the striped gourd,' is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

"The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot on the moon. The narrator could not say whether the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they call 'the narrow-leaved wormwood.' They had a son of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skillful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had forbidden him to kill the prairie-larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this one of the birds said to him, 'Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?' He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, 'See all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither.' The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews, of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is charmed."

Thunder-Bird. "The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up 'round

000

the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isloated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after its death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens.

"The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distiguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon 'the dancing spirit,' and the milky way, 'the path of the ghosts.'

"The following account of the Mandan tradition of creation will be found to be substantially identical in its essential features with their current narratives on that head, though the latter as told to the writer is much briefer; as will be seen later on in this paper.

"Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations."

Mandan "Creation." "Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, 'You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth.' The bird obeyed, and soon brought up some earth, which the first man scattered upon the face of the waters, using some incantations, commanding the earth to appear, and it appeared. The land was naked; not a blade of grass growing on it; he wandered about and thought that he was alone, when he suddenly met with a toad. 'I thought I was here alone,' said he, 'but you are here, and who are you?' It did not answer. 'I do not know you, but I must give you a name. You are older than I am, for your skin is rough and scaly; I must call you my grandmother, for you are so very old.' He went further and found a piece of an earthern pot. 'I thought I was here alone, but men must have lived here before me.' Thereupon he took the potsherd and said, 'I will give you also a name, and, as you were here before me, I must, likewise, call you my grandmother.' A little further he met with a mouse. 'It is clear,' said he to himself, 'that I am not the first being; I call you also my grandmother.' A little further on he and the lord of life met. 'Oh, there is a man like myself,' exclaimed he, and went up to him. 'How do you do, my son?' said the man to Omahank-Numakshi; but he answered, 'I am not your son, but you are mine.' The first man answered, 'I dispute this.' But the lord of life answered, 'You are my son, and I will prove it; if you will not believe me, we will sit down and plant our medicine sticks which we have in our hands in the ground; he who first rises is the youngest, and the son of the other.' They sat down and looked at each other for a long time, till, at length, the lord of life became pale, his flesh dropped from his bones, on which the first man exclaimed, 'Now you are surely dead.' Thus they looked at each other for ten years, at the end of which time, when the bare bones of the lord of life were in a decomposed state, the first man rose, exclaiming, 'Now he is surely dead.' He seized Omahank-Numakshi's stick, and pulled it out of the ground; but at the same moment the lord of life stood up, saying, 'See here, I am your father, and you are my son,' and the first man called him his father. As they were going on together the lord of life said, 'this land is not well formed, we will make it better.' At that time the buffalo were all ready on the earth. The lord of life called to the weasel, and ordered him to dive and bring up grass, which was done. He then sent him again to fetch wood, which he brought in like manner. He divided the grass and the wood, giving one-half to the first man. This took place at the mouth of Heart river. The lord of life then desired the first man to make the north bank of the Missouri, while he himself made the southwest bank, which is beautifully diversified with hills, valleys, forests, and thickets. The man, on the contrary, made the whole country flat, with a good deal of wood in the distance. They then met again, and, when the lord of life had seen the work of the first man, he shook his head and said, 'You have not done this well; all is too level, so that it will be

000

impossible to surprise buffalos or deer, and approach them unperceived. Men will not be able to live there. They will see each other in the plains at too great a distance, and will be unable to avoid each other, consequently they will destroy each other.'

"He then took the first man to the other side of the river, and said, 'See here, I have made springs and streams in sufficient abundance, and hills and valleys, and added all kinds of animals and fine wood; here men will be able to live by the chase, and feed on the flesh of those animals.' They then both proceeded to the mouth of the Natke-Passaha (Heart river), in order, according to the directions of the lord of life, to make medicine pipes. He himself made them of ash, lined with stone. The man on the contrary made his pipes of box-elder, a soft wood. They placed these pipes together, and the lord of life said, 'This shall be the heart, the center of the world; and this river shall be the Heart river.' Each of them had now his pipe in his hand, and when they met any creature, the lord of life laid the pipe down before it; on doing this to a buffalo, it said, 'This is not enough; there must be something to smoke in the pipe,' and the lord of life said, 'Then do you get something to smoke.' On which the buffalo cleared a spot on the ground with his forefoot, and said, 'When the rutting time of the buffalos approaches, come here and you will find something to smoke.' The lord of life, according, sent at the time appointed, to fetch tobacco, but it was not yet dry and prepared; he therefore ordered the buffalo to be called, which at once spread out the leaves and dried them; and the lord of life smoked, and found the tobacco very good. The bull then taught him to pull off and smoke the flowers and the buds, for these are the very best parts of the plant.

"The lord of life and the first man were now resolved to create the human race. They began their operations near the bank of the Missouri; but the frog came up out of the water and said, 'How foolish you are.' 'What business have you to speak?' said the lord of life, and struck the frog upon the back with his stick, and since that time the frog has had a humped back. God had made man told him he should increase and multiply, but not live longer than a hundred years; since, otherwise, there would not be room enough for all. The first man now said to his father,

000

'When buffalos are hunted, the skins of the animals killed must be immediately taken off to wear as robes, the stomach must be emptied, and pemican made of the flesh.' The lord of life, however, answered, 'This would not be advisable. Men would then quarrel and destroy each other. Let them rather take the animals home, and tan the hides, then they will have robes for their own use, and for sale.' And it appeared that the lord of life was always right.''***

What next follows in this tradition of the "creation" may be compared with the reference to the "boats with wings" (sails?) referred to by a Mandan Indian in 1906 when interviewed by the writer; both accounts indicating a crossing of the sea or ocean. See the later account, further on in this paper.

"A saying was then current among these people, that on the other side of the great water, or the sea, there lived white men, who possessed wampum shells. Bodies of fifteen or twenty men were frequently sent thither, but they were all killed. Hereupon the chief said, 'I will send my boat thither, with eight men; this is the right number.' And the boat went, arrived at the right place, and brought to the white men the red mouse hair (beaver hair), which they highly value. They were well received, feasted in the dwellings, and materials for smoking were given them. Each received buffalo skins filled with wampum shells, and the boat returned quickly. The boat then went, for the second time, with eleven men, and the lord of life accompanied it. He had dressed himself in mean apparel, and took with him a large hollow cane. On their arrival they went into a village, but the first man remained sitting near the boat, and dug a deep hole, over which he seated himself. The inhabitants of the village agreed to kill the strangers by overfeeding them, and, with this view, gave them abundance of food. The first man to whom the overplus of the provisions was brought, let them drop through his cane into the hole, and the white men were astonished at the quantity of provisions consumed. They then agreed to kill them by smoke; but the first man made the smoke pass through his cane, and their plan was again defeated. As they could not kill the strangers either by eating or smoking they gave them as many wampum shells as they could take in their boat, and sent them away. When the children learned that the boat understood what was said to it, they ordered it to go down the river to the white people; it obeyed, and was never afterwards seen.

"The first man now said to the Numangkake that he should leave them, and never return; that he was going to the west; but that in case of need, they might apply to him, and he would assist them. They were living in a small village, on the Heart river, when their enemies surrounded them, and threatened to destroy them. In this great distress they resolved to apply to their protector; but how were they to get to the first man? One man proposed to send a bird to him; but birds could not fly so far. Another thought that the eyesight might be able to reach him; but the prairie hills were in the way. At last, a third said that thought would undoubtedly be the best means of reaching the first man. He wrapped himself in his robe and fell to the ground. Soon afterwards he said, 'I think—I have thought—I return.' He threw off his robe, and was in a profuse perspiration all over. 'The first man will quickly come,' he exclaimed; and he was soon there, fell furiously on the enemy, drove them away, and immediately vanished. Since that time he has not been again seen.

"The lord of life once told the first man, that if the Numangkake should go over the river they would be devoured by the wolves; on which they both crossed the river, and killed all the old wolves. They ordered the young wolves not to devour men in the future, but to confine themselves to buffalos, deer, and other wild animals. They threw the old wolves into the north ocean where they became putrid, and their hair swam on the surface of the water, from which the white man originated. The lord of life also told the Numangkake, that when they had boiled their maize they should keep up only a small fire for the rest of the day; and this they still do. When the fire would not burn, they were to take the larger brands from below, and lay them on the top. When the lord of life was a little below Heart river, in the spring when the first wild geese flew past, he told them to wait, because he would fly with them, and assume the form of a goose. The Indians are accustomed to shout and halloo when they see the flocks of geese, by which they are frightened and thrown into confusion. So it happened on this occasion to the lord of life, and he fell to the ground. He was carried into the hut of the chief, who sent for the youngest woman to pluck the

000

goose, but it bit her, and she gave it to the oldest, who was likewise bitten; so that the lord of life escaped. He then flew to the Minnetarees. A young woman, who refused to marry, was here whipped and beaten by him. She went to the lower village, and complained that God had punished her, because she would not marry. A young man who wished to have her for his wife, took the dress of the lord of life, as she was resolved to marry none but him. She now desired to know whether her lover was really what he pretended to be, and with this view placed some pointed sticks in the ground, on which he must wound himself in the night, if he were not of a superior nature. He came and wounded himself, on which she fell on him, took away all his clothes and hid them, so that he looked for a long time both for them and his weapons. When day came, two long lines, like fishing lines, were hanging down from the sun to the earth, and near to the place where the girl was. A voice called to her, from above, to climb up by the lines; that the clothes were no longer in the place where she had hidden them; it was, therefore, the lord of life who had appeared to her under the form of the young man. The girl took hold of the lines, and the sun seemed to come down. Several of her relations, and other men, pulled the lines, but could not draw the sun down, while the lord of life lay quietly in it. A very strong man, who was able to pull up the largest trees by the roots, and cast them from him, was not able to do anything on this occasion; the line turned around his shoulders. 'I can pull up the largest trees,' said he, 'and my strength is greater than that of all other men united, and yet I cannot break this small line.' To which the lord of life answered, 'If you reach and kill me, the human race will be destroyed from the face of the earth.' "

The Ark. "At the time that the first man had incensed the whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower or fort, upon an emminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advise, and built the ark, on the lower side of the Heart river, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care

000 of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honor of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.[25]

"Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came from above ground is called by them Histoppa (those of the tattooed countenance), and these for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar as that which they inhabited. Then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahsi, about the size of a pole cat, and distinguished by black stripes on its face and legs, Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black."

It will be noted in the following paragraph, that the coming up "above ground" occurred near "the sea shore," and that those who came up "went on" and reached the Missouri at the mouth of White river—being that river in South Dakota; that they then "proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's river;" that they then had "no enemies," and that the first attack was by Cheyennes. It is worthy of notice in this connection that the Cheyennes probably reached the Missouri river in the neighborhood of the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is still more

000

significant, in connection with the question of the former habitat of the Mandans, that this definite statement that they came up the Missouri to the Moreau river, shows that their traditions clearly placed them at one time as residents on the Missouri at least sixty miles south of the North Dakota line.

Climb the Grapevine. "The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief with his medicine and his schischikue in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighborhood of the sea shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth river.[26] They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's river. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Cheyenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them and took his scalp with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first man who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikue they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikue. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffalos, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commandments. To which he replied, 'Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield' (as a sort of medicine or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, 'You are fools; paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows.'

000

"The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of 'the foolish dogs.' He made four caps of crows' feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-kara-kachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sunflower, and the latter the maize. 'These badges,' said he, 'you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them.' He next founded the band of 'the little foolish dogs,' and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black color, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them the 'black-birds.' He afterwards went to war with his people against the Cheyennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Cheyennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As he would not commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Cheyennes to retreat across the Missouri."

The tradition of the "creation" now merges into something more modern, as it is seen that what next occurs in the narrative

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

pertains to the coming of the Minnetarees—supposedly from the Devil's Lake region.

"The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart river, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him, and said that within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus instead of four days four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Minnetarees was given, i. e., those who came over the waters.[27]

"The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Minnetaree chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, 'When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and for the most part red.' To which the Minnetaree chief replied, 'That he would assist them with his people against their enemies.' Already on the following day many Cheyennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford

000 them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Minnetarees, 'Remove higher up the Missouri; this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yellowstone and Knife river, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the latter river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us.' The Minnetarees removed as proposed, but built one of their villages on the other side of Knife river, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people.'

It thus appears that the Minnetarees were allies of the Mandans; and it next appears that not very many years before Maximilian was at the Mandan villages (1833-4) and when Dipauch "was a young man," the Rees and Cheyennes and not the Sioux who were too far away, were their enemies; also that when this alliance occurred the Mandans were scattered on both sides of the Missouri, and **not** (as Lewis and Clarke **declare** but which their detailed narrative disproves) mostly on the east side.

"At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

"At the time of their first alliance with the Minnetarees, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri on the Heart river, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the smallpox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Previously to the devastations of the smallpox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Cheyennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them."

Religion—Guardian Spirit—Medicine-Pipes. "These Indians are full of prejudice and superstitions, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine.

"Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine is said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favorable or unfavorable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; at least they endeavored to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Tope never partook of other people's tobacco but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They do not willingly show their medicine or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine-pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch. The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and it was made of brownish red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offer to show it to me for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense; many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker, a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man possesses such a pipe he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him of his intention, and after having provided two similar medicine-pipes, he asks his newly adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes. The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed; but if he has not yet made up his mind it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practice the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance around him, with the two pipes; they sing accompanied by the drum and schischikue, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father. This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above mentioned ceremonies—and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, (which signifies medicine-man)."

White Buffalo Skin. "The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Minnetarees. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or which is equivalent to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelve month, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighborhood of the burying place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away every thing of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself and to be liberal, does honor to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not infrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he

000 hangs his head in silence and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, etc. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for their horses, guns, etc., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them thither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns, nose, hoofs and tail. The value of ten or fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Minnetarees, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine-man, who must throw it over him; he then walks around the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide

is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy, he does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The traders have sometimes sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold luster when in the sunshine; these are likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and sometimes for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Minnetarees, other strange figures on high poles. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together."

Medicine Festivals—The Ark. "The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.[28]

"Numank-Machana, the first man, ordered the Numangkake to celebrate this medicine feast every year.[29] When the village has fixed the time for this festivity, they choose a man of distinction, in whom confidence can be placed, who must put himself at the head, and direct the solemnities. In the year 1834 Mato-Tope was chosen. He is called Kani-Sachka. This man then causes the medicine-lodge to be prepared and cleaned before the appointed time, and wood and other necessaries to be provided.

"First day of the Okippe: At sunset the Kani-Sachka goes into the lodge, and begins the fast, which continues four days. With him are six men, who are to strike what is called the tortoise, a vessel or sack made of parchment, and filled with water. Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards. They strike the tortoise during the whole night. Before sun-rise a man representing the Numank-Machana, or the first man, arrives. He dresses himself in the medicine-lodge in the following manner: 'Round his body he fastens a wolf's skin, on his head, raven's feathers, in his arms he carries the medicine-pipe, and in his robe a portion of pemmican. His face is painted red, and on the small of the back he binds a piece of wood, to which the tail of a buffalo cow is fastened. Dressed in this manner, he goes early in the morning of the first day of the festival, and sings on the open space in the center. All kinds of valuable articles, such as guns, robes, blankets, etc., are thrown towards him, of which he afterwards takes possession, while on his part he distributes pemmican among the people. He then returns to the medicine-lodge, but is not at that time permitted to speak a word. The most eminent men of the nation now come to the lodge, address the first man as their uncle, and say, 'Well, uncle, how did you fare in the villages? How did you find them? Were you well received?' To which he replies, 'Very well nephew. I have not once lowered my pipe to the ground.' By which he means to say that he has received ample presents, and offerings of all kinds have been hung upon his pipe. He then says, 'I have seen a great many buffalos feeding in the prairie and drinking at the river; they are very abundant everywhere.' These were the horses; but he means to intimate that, by the medicine of this day, the buffalos will be attracted in great numbers. All those who intend to submit their bodies to a penance of certain tortures, in order to render themselves acceptable to the lord of life and the first man, come to the medicine-lodge early in the morning. Their number is, of course, uncertain; sometimes many present themselves, at other times only a few. They are smeared all over with white clay, with no other covering besides their robes, with the hair side outwards, and drawn over their heads, so that the head is covered, and they are quite wrapped up in them. In the medicine-lodge they lay aside their robes. On the first day of the feast they go four times, wrapped up as before described, and dance around the ark, which stands in the center of the open space. The Kani-Sachka remains during all this time moaning and leaning against the ark. All this is done in the forenoon. In the afternoon all is silent, and neither dance nor procession takes place.

"Second day of the Okippe: On the second day, early in the morning, eight men appear, who represent buffalo bulls. They are naked, wearing only an apron of blue and white striped woolen cloth. Their body is painted black in front, with two red perpendicular stripes like the facings of a military uniform, and with several white transverse stripes looking like lace or bands. The forearm and ankles are alternately striped white and red. In their hands they carry a fan of green willow twigs, and on their back a buffalo robe, the head of which, with the long hair on the forehead hangs over the face. To the middle of the robe a single buffalo horn is fastened, while at the head and loins green willow branches are appended. The eight buffalo bulls put on this fantastic dress in the lodge, and, when this is done, march out two abreast in an inclined posture, and extending their robes with outspread hands, and holding the willow fans upright. In this manner they dance up to the ark, where they divide, four going to the left and four to the right 'round the space. They again join opposite the medicine-lodge, and then return as before to the ark, where they continue to dance. When they are opposite to each other they stand upright and imitate the roaring of the buffalo. As soon as this dance begins, the six tortoise strikers bring their instrument from the center of the lodge, and place it near the ark in an easterly direction, striking it, and singing a certain song which is said to be a prayer. The Kani-Sachka stands, with his head bowed, leaning on the ark, directly opposite the tortoise, and moans without ceasing. He is quite naked except an apron of buffalo skin. His whole body is bedaubed with yellow, and on his forehead he has a wreath of bleached buffalo hair or wool hanging over his eyes. The eight buffalo bulls form a ring and dance around him, covering him with their robes; they dance in like manner to the tortoise, and next go to the door of the medicine-lodge, where they make a kind of covered way with their robes, beneath which the tortoise is conveyed into the lodge. The whole ceremony is repeated eight times on this

000 day, four times in the morning and four times in the afternoon.[30]

"Third day of the Okippe: The same masks as yesterday dance on this day twelve times, and are prohibited from either eating or drinking. A number of other masks join them. 1. Two men, dressed like women, who dance in this costume, keeping by the side of the eight buffalo bulls. They wear clothes of bighorn leather, women's leggins (mitasses), the robes having the hair outwards. Their cheeks are painted red, their chins tattooed, and their heads adorned with glass beads, as is the custom among the women. 2. Two other men represent a couple of swans; they are naked, carry a swan's tail in their hand, are painted all over white, only the nose, mouth (representing the bill), and the lower part of the legs and feet, black. 3. A couple of rattlesnakes; the back is painted with black transverse stripes, in imitation of those animals, the front of the body yellowish; a black line is drawn from each eye down the cheeks and in each hand they carry a bunch of wormwood. 4. One man represents the evil spirit; he is conducted by two men of the village to the river, where he is dressed and painted; his entire body is painted black, and, as soon as this is done, he is not permitted to speak a word. They put on his head a cap, with a black cock's comb; he likewise wears a mask, with white woolen rings left for the opening 'round the eyes. They then make for him large teeth of cotton yarn, paint the sun upon his stomach, the crescent upon his back, and on each joint of the arms and legs, a white circle; they then put on a buffalo's tail, and place a small stick in his hand, with a ball, made of skin, at the end, to which a scalp, painted red on the under side, is fastened. The ball represents the head of an enemy. When this monster is completed, they let him loose, and he runs, like one possessed, about the prairie, comes into the village, gets upon the huts, one after the other, and prys into every corner, while the inhabitants throw out to him all kinds of valuable articles as presents. As soon as he perceives this he turns towards the sun, and intimates to it, by signs, how well he is treated, and that it is foolish of it, (the sun) to keep at so great a distance. The Indians are very much afraid of the devil, for which reason this part cannot be assigned to anybody; but he who wishes to perform it must offer himself. My informant added that this medicine feast was once celebrated on the banks of Heart river,

000

where the Mandans then resided, and the man who had undertaken this part was conducted into the river. When his clothes were taken off, in order to paint and dress him, he appeared very uneasy, and required to be let loose; and when this was done he seemed as one possessed by the evil spirit, and ran, with the velocity of an arrow, on the hills and about the plain. His two attendants were alarmed, and pursued him to the village, but the new demon darted past them, leaped over the high fence of the village, jumped down into the huts, and again made his egress, and then ran to the river; this now convinced them that he was possessed. It cost the inhabitants much trouble to catch and wash him, but he trembled like an aspen leaf, wrapped himself in his robe, and continued in this condition for the remainder of his life without ever speaking a word.[31] While the devil is walking about, the other masks continue dancing, and act in conformity with their parts, endeavoring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown color; the head, neck, forearm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bear's skins, with the head and claws, which cover the head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; 'round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the backs, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun;

000

they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set; they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them; if they catch one the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practice these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observance of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffalos roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, etc.

"During all of these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine-lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine-lodge, and all together then leave the place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle 'round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of the schischikue. Some already begin to suffer the tortures; they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

"Fourth day of the Okippe: All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine-lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at day-break. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are out about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves around with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows; the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and when the eight buffalos have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffalos. The latter whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine-lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some that they will kill enemies; others that they will slay many buffalos, etc. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.

"The wounds that have been inflicted on this occasion are now healed, but they remain visible during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Minnetarees than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred."

Buffalo Festival. "Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the heads of buffalos, which is usually celebrated in the autumn or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye witness among the Minnetarees, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man in this case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favored in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favored has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks his arm is again stroked."

In connection with the "Corn Dance" next described by Maximilian, the idea of symbolizing corn as representative of the fruits of the earth, in the simile of the immortal old woman, is borne out by the tradition of today as seen in the Mandan accounts given to the writer, wherein the term "Corn Mother" is used—as shown in a later stage of this paper.

Corn Dance. "A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by name of the corn dance of the Minnetarees. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Minnetarees. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old women. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one end of which a head of maize is fastened. Sitting down in a circle, they plant their sticks in the ground before them, and then dance 'round the stages. Some old men beat the drum, and rattle the schischisikue. The maize is not wetted or sprinkled, as many believe, but, on the contrary, it is supposed that such a practice would be injurious. While the old women are performing these ceremonies, the younger ones come and put some dry pulverized meat into their mouths, for which each of them received in return, a grain of the consecrated maize, which she eats. Three or four grains are put into their dishes, and are afterwards carefully mixed with the seed to be sown, in order to make it thrive and yield an abundant crop. The dried flesh on the stages is the perquisite of the aged females, as the representative of the old woman who never dies. During the ceremony,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 it is not unusual for some men of the band of the dogs to come and pull a large piece of flesh from the poles and carry it off. As members of this band, and being men of distinction, no opposition can be offered.

"A similar corn feast is repeated in the autumn, but at that season it is held for the purpose of attracting the herds of buffalos, and of obtaining a large supply of meat. Each woman then has not a stick with a head of maize, as in the former instance, but a whole plant of that grain, pulled up by the roots. They designate the maize as well as the birds, which are the symbols of the fruits of the earth, by the name of the old woman who never dies, and call upon them in the autumn, saying, 'Mother, have pity on us; do not send the severe cold too soon, so that we may have a sufficient supply of meat; do not permit all the game to go away, so that we may have something for the winter.'

"In autumn when the birds emigrate to the south, or as the Indians express it, return to the old woman, they believe that they take with them the presents—especially the dried flesh—that were hung up at the entrance of the village, for the giver and protectress of the crop. They further imagine that the old woman partakes of the flesh. Some poor females among these Indians, who are not able to offer flesh or any valuable gift, take a piece of parchment, in which they wrap the foot of a buffalo, and suspend it to one of the poles as their offering. The birds on their return, go to the old woman, each bringing something from the Indians; but towards the end, one approaches, and says, 'I have very little to give you, for I have received only a very mean gift.' To this, the old woman, on receiving the buffalo's foot from the poor women, or widows, says, 'This is just what I love; this poor offering is more dear to me than all the other presents, however costly.' Upon this she boils a piece of the foot with some maize, and eats it with much satisfaction. The old woman who never dies has very extensive plantations of maize, the keepers of which are the great stag and the white-tailed stag. She has likewise, many blackbirds, which help to guard her property. When she intends to feed these keepers, she summons them, and they fall with avidity upon the maize fields. As these plantations are very large, she requires many laborers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds which fly from the sea shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the north to visit 'the old man who never dies,' and who always resides in that quarter. She does not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times the old woman's hut was near the Little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day twelve Minnetarees came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, as soon as the pot was empty it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several times while the old woman resided on that spot."

Medicine Serpents. "Serpents, especially the rattlesnake, are in a greater or less degree, 'medicine' for these people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings. The following is their tradition of this monster: Two young men were strolling along the bank of the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them, where numerous herds of buffalo were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood before them, who demanded, 'Who are you, you little people? I am afraid if I were to lay hold of you I should crush you.' He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the two Mandans they went out to hunt buffalos. The giants killed the buffalo by throwing stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants. At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers.

000

On their return they found the cave blocked by a colossal serpent. First they were at a loss how to make a passage, but they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an intolerable itching came to his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home. On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, 'There are many like me below, but they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri.' This, too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four things, viz: A white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails; after this he was to go to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake, which the Indians sometimes do even to this day."

Medicine Stone. "Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke, and which the Minnetarees likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three days' journey from the villages on Cannonball river, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and animals of various descriptions, also sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets, medicine-pipes, etc., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine-pipes, and pass the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the interpretation. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood."

Other Medicine. "The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up around them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings, or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented, where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins, were fixed upon poles, representing as we are told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

"Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams to be true. They were not yet acquainted with firearms, when one of the Indians dreamed of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamed of horses before they obtained any. Even the whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Minnetarees have lost one or two joints of the fingers and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child will die in convulsions. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the whites, always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when struck, emits fire. Many persons, even whites, pretend they had seen this, and it is utterly useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar 000 white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmiton) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent around for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikue go 'round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire.

"A great many Mandans and Minnetarees believe that they have wild animals in their body; one for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth.***

"The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine.

"Many instruments used by the whites, especially mathematical are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus the Indian women are frequently embarrassed when we look at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power to penetrate their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions."

Time—Months. "The divison of time, especially that of the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

008

year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

"1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.

"2. The pairing month—February.

"3. The month of weak eyes—March.

"4. The month of game. Some call it the month of wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking up of the ice.

"5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.

"6. The month of ripe service berries.

"7. The month of ripe cherries.

"8. The month of ripe plumbs.

"9. The month of ripe maize.

"10. The month of the falling leaves.

"11. The month in which the rivers freeze.

"12. The month of slight frost.[32]

"Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common."

Buffalo Hunts. "The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against the superior force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddles resemble the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffalos are dispersed to great distance in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in the winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are often

000

killed in a short time. On these hunting excursions the Indians often spend eight or ten days; generally they return on foot, while the horses are laden with the spoils. The buffalos are usually shot with arrows, the hunters riding within ten or twelve paces of them. If it is very cold, and the buffalos keep at a distance in the prairie (which happened in the winter of 1833-34), they hunt but little, and would rather suffer hunger, or live only on maize and beans, than use any exertion; and when towards spring, many drowned buffalos float down the river with the ice, the Indians swim or leap with great dexterity over the flakes of ice, draw the animals to land, and eat the half putrid flesh without manifesting any signs of disgust. It is remarkable how instantly their famished dogs know and take advantage of the hunting excursions of their masters. When the horses return laden with the spoils of the chase, the children in the village utter a cry of joy, of which the dogs seem perfectly to understand the import, for they simultaneously set up a loud howl, run towards the prairie, the scene of the chase, and partake with their relations, the wolves, of what the hunters have left behind. When a hunter has killed an animal, he generally eats the liver, the kidneys, and the marrow of the large thigh bones, raw. If an Indian has procured some game he usually shares it with others. The entrails and skin always belong to the person who shot the animal. If an eminent man, who has performed some exploit, comes up when the animal has been just killed, and demands the tongue, or some other good part, it cannot be refused him. Dogs are not employed in hunting by the Mandans and Minnetarees. They shoot deer and elks in the forests, antelopes and bighorns in the prairies, the Black Hills, and the neighboring mountains. They make parks, as they are called, to catch antelopes, but not buffalos."

Antelope Hunt. "Brackenridge says, that the Indians drive the antelopes into the water and kill them with clubs, but this can only have happened in isolated places when some accident gave them the opportunity. The Minnetarees make these cabri parks more frequently than the Mandans. They choose a valley, between two hills, which ends in a steep declivity. On the summit of the hills, two converging lines, one or two miles in length, are marked out with brushwood. Below the declivity they erect

000

a kind of fence fifteen or twenty paces in length, composed of poles, covered and filled up with hay and brushwood. A number of horsemen then drive the cabris between the ends of the lines marked out by the brushwood, which are very distant from each other, and ride rapidly towards them. The terrified animals hasten down the hollow, and at length leap into the enclosure, where they are killed with clubs or taken alive. There are not many bears in this country; and the Indians are not fond of hunting them, because it is often dangerous, and the flesh, when roasted, is not very good.

"Brackenridge is mistaken when he says, that these Indians always shout before they enter the forest, in order to frighten the bears. If they did so they would, at the same time, frighten all other kinds of animals, and we see at once, from this statement, that that traveler was no sportsman."

Wolf, Fox and Eagle Traps. "The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffalos skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horse-hair springs, set before their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. The bird-catcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the bird-catcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle, the Quiliou, or oiseau de medicine, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated."[33]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

School of War—The Chiefs. "Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

"When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, sometimes in the evening, to sleep. A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen: The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, 'He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed.' A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he paints a spiral line 'round his arm, of whatever color he pleases, and he may then wear a whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the enemy he paints a line running obliquely 'round the arms and another crossing it in the opposite direction, with three transverse stripes. On killing the second enemy he paints his left leg (that is the leggin) of a reddish-brown. If he kills the second enemy before another is killed by his comrades, he may wear two entire wolves' tails at his heels. On his third exploit he paints two longitudinal stripes on his arms and three transverse stripes. This is the exploit that is esteemed the highest; after the third exploit no more marks are made. If he kills an enemy after others of the party have done the same, he may wear on this heel, 000 one wolf's tail, the tip of which is cut off. In every numerous war party there are four leaders (partisans, karokkanakah), sometimes seven, but only four are reckoned as the real partisans; the others are called bad partisans (karokkanakah-chakohosch, literally, partisans galeux). All partisans carry on their backs a medicine-pipe in a case, which other warriors dare not have. To become a chief (Numakaschi) a man must have been a partisan and then kill an enemy when he is not a partisan. If he follows another partisan for the second time, he must have first discovered the enemy, have killed one, and then possessed the hide of a white buffalo cow complete, with the horns, to pretend to the title of chief (Numakschi). Dipauch, who related these particulars, had himself done all these, and was an eminent man among his people, but had never assumed that title. He had given five horses for his white buffalo hide. All the warriors wear small war pipes 'round their necks, which are often very elegantly ornamented with porcupine quills.

"As soon as they advance to attack the enemy every one sounds his pipe, and all together utter the war whoop, a shrill cry, which they render tremendous by repeatedly and suddenly striking the mouth with the hand. Those who fast and dream, in order to perform an exploit, are entitled to wear a wolf's skin. A warrior has a right to wear as many eagles' feathers as he has performed exploits. All Indians, on their military expeditions, erect, in the evening, a sort of fort, in which they are, in some measure, secure against a sudden attack. In Major Long's expedition to the Rocky mountains, it is stated, that they often make caches (hiding places) in these forts; but we did not observe any such on the Missouri. The Indians, on their expeditions, always set a watch by night as soon as they are near the enemy, and often send out scouts to considerable distances. At such a post the Indians are very vigilant and active; after an engagement they do not bury the dead, but, if they have not time to carry them away, leave them on the spot where they fell. The scalps, called by the Canadians, les chevelures, are often preserved for a long time stretched upon small hoops, and the hair is afterwards used as an ornament to the dress of the men. The skin of the scalp is generally painted red. The Mandans, Minnetarees, and Crows, never torture their prisoners like the Pawnees, and the eastern nations. When a prisoner has arrived at the village, and eaten maize, he is considered as one of their own nation, and no person ever thinks of molesting him. Often, however, the women hasten out to meet the prisoners ere they reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

"When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favor of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain unornamented tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast; and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, etc., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition be determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine-lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detached parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a circle, the partisan produces his medicine-pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretells the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these."

Scalp Dance. "When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on high poles; if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine-lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the center of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint them-

600 selves in various ways, form a semi-circle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikue. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

"All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he has not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter." (p. 389.)

It is not unworthy of comment that in recording the tradition of wars between the Mandans and the Chippeways "to the country of Pembina," Maximilian conduces to the support of the theory that the Mandans went into the Winnipeg Basin, with their allies the Minnetarees (the latter of whom were supposed to have once lived in that direction), **from their base on the Missouri river,** thus furnishing, inferentially at least, proof inconsistent with the idea that the contests between the Mandans and Crees, Chippeways, etc., were occasioned in a process of driving the Mandans from a supposed original habitat in those regions. See below:

Mandan Wars. "The Mandans and Minnetarees make excursions as far as the Rocky mountains, against their enemies, the Blackfeet, and against the Chippeways, to the country of Pembina. Their other enemies are the Sioux, the Arikkaras, the Assiniboines, and the Cheyennes (spelt by the English Shiennes). They are at peace with the Crows."

Mandan Weapons. "The weapons of the Mandans and Minnetarees are, first, the bow and arrow. The bows are made of elm or ash, there being no other suitable kinds of wood in their country. In form and size they resemble those of the other nations;

the string is made of the sinews of animals twisted. They are frequently ornamented. A piece of red cloth, four or five inches long, is wound around each end of the bow, and adorned with glass beads, dyed porcupine quills, and strips of white ermine. A tuft of horse hair, dyed yellow, is usually fastened to one end of the bow. Pehriska-Ruhpa has such a weapon in his hand. The quiver, to which the bow-case is fastened, is made of panther or buffalo skin; in the first case, with the hair outwards the long tail hanging down, and, as among the Blackfeet, lined with red cloth, and embroidered in various figures with white beads. Their handsome quivers are made of otter skin, which are much esteemed. A very beautifully ornamented one, belonging to the Crows, is represented. Narrow strips of skin hang down at both ends of the quiver. The arrows of the Mandans and the Minnetarees are neatly made; the best wood is said to be that of the service berry (amelanchier sanguinea). The arrows of all the Missouri nations are much alike,[24] with long, triangular, very sharp, iron heads, which they themselves make out of old iron; it is but slightly glued to the shaft of the arrow, which is rather short, and generally remains in the body of the wounded animal. They know nothing of poisoning their arrows. The arrow-heads were formerly made of sharp stones; when Charbonneau first came to the Missouri, some made of flint were in use, and in the villages they are still met with, and in all those parts of the United States where the expelled or extirpated aborigines formerly dwelt. We are told that, in the prairie, near the Minnetaree villages, there is a sand hill, where the wind has uncovered a great number of such stone arrow-heads. Almost all the Mandans and Minnetarees now have guns, which they ornament with bits of red cloth, on the brass rings of the ramrod, and at the butt-end with brass nails. Besides the ramrod belonging to the gun, the Indians always carry another long ramrod in their hands, which they generally use. The pouch is made of leather, or cloth, often beautifully ornamented with beads, or porcupine quills, and is hung on the back by a piece of skin, or a broad strip of cloth of some lively color. Their clubs and tomahawks are of various kinds. Many have a thick egg-shaped stone fastened to a handle, covered with leather, or without leather. Others have small iron tomahawks, but not tomahawks with pipes fixed to them. The large club with the broad iron point is called manha-okatanha, or mauna-schicha. A simple, knotty, wooden club is called mauna-panischa."

Lance and Shield—Knife. "Many Mandans likewise carry lances, and I was told that they had a remarkably handsome one, of which, however, I did not obtain a sight. These Indians have shields, which do not differ from those of the tribes already mentioned. They all wear in their girdles, behind, a large knife, which is indispensible to them in hunting and in war. Some use, for the handle of the knife, the lower jaw of a bear, with the hair and teeth remaining. The bow and arrows, are, even now, much esteemed by all the nations living on the Missouri, while those that have been entirely driven from that river (the Osages) greatly prefer the gun; the former, therefore, are capital archers, which cannot be affirmed of the Osages. The Mandans and Minnetarees are said to fight well in their manner, and there have been frequent instances of individual bravery. One of their most distinguished warriors, at this time, is Mato-Tope, of whom we shall often have to speak in the sequel. He has killed more than five chiefs of other nations. The father of Mato-Tope, whose name was Suck-Schih (the handsome child), behaved exactly in the same manner as the Minnetaree chief, Kokoahkis, mentioned by Say. He went, one evening, wrapped up in his robe, into a hut of the hostile Arikkaras, as the young men of the village often do, ate with his face covered, so that he was taken for a young Arikkara; then laid himself down by the side of a woman, and afterwards cut off a lock of her hair, with which he retired. He might have killed the woman, as Kokoahkis did, but refrained from doing so."

In connection with what follows below concerning healing by Indians, the writer can not withhold mention of a very serious case of a shotgun wound caused by discharge of the gun's contents through the hand of Edward Narcelle a few years ago, which tore away nearly half of the hand between the base of the thumb and the forefingers while he held the end of the gun in his hand; and which was entirely cured by a "medicine-man" of the Sioux on the Cheyenne river, so that the use of all the members of the hand was restored. The patient would not go to Pierre to have the wound dressed, but remained under the treat-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ment of the Indian physician. What seemed remarkable to the writer (who saw the wound a few days after the accident) was the fact that, although the hand itself was in a frightful condition of laceration, yet the wrist was not at all swollen, nor did the patient suffer considerable pain. All that the "treatment" consisted of was an assortment of a few herbs and their extracts, in connection with which certain incantations involving the mystery of Indian "medicine" were gone through with. This instance of a really remarkable cure went far to disabuse the writer's mind of a previous strong tendency to disbelieve in the efficacy of Indian "medicine."

Healing of Wounds—Steam Baths. "Wounds appear to be healed with remarkable ease. In cases of arrow wounds, they like to force the arrow quite through, that the iron head may not remain in a wound. Men and women are often scalped, in battle, who afterwards came to themselves, and are cured. Such a large wound on the head is rubbed with fat; the medicine-man unfumigates it, singing at the same time. Disorders are not uncommon among the Indians. The Mandans and Minnetarees often suffer from diseases in the eyes; many are one-eyed, or have a tunicle over one eye. In inflammation of the eye they have a custom of scratching the inner eye with the leaf of a kind of grass, resembling a saw, which caused them to bleed very much, and this may often occasion the loss of the eye. Rheumatism, coughs, and the like, are frequent, because they go half naked in the severest cold, and plunge into ice cold water. Much benefit is often derived from their steam baths, in a well closed hut, where a thick steam is produced by pouring water on hot stones. They then immediately go into the cold, roll themselves in the snow, or plunge into a river covered with drifting ice, but do not return to a warm hut as the Russians do Many Indians are said to have died on the spot by trying this remedy. Some suffer from gout; but all who survive these violent remedies are stronger and more hardy. Another remedy is trampling on the whole body, especially the stomach, as is practiced also among the Brazilians. This operation is performed with such violence, as often to occasion hard swellings in the intestines, or ulcers, especially in the liver. The steam bath is used as a remedy in all kinds of disorders. Vaccination, the application of which met with no

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

600

difficulties among several nations on the great lakes, especially the Chippeways, is not yet practiced among the Mandans and Minnetarees. Spitting blood is said to be frequent, but not pulmonary consumption. Gonorrahoea is very common; they affirm that all venereal disorders came to them from the Crows beyond the Rocky mountains. For such disorders they often seat themselves over a heated pot, but very frequently burn themselves. They cut open buboes, lengthwise, with a knife, and then run for a couple of miles as fast as they can. The jaundice is said not to occur among them. It appears that they are not acquainted with emetics, but, if they feel anything wrong in the stomach, they thrust a feather down the throat. Their purgatives are obtained from the vegetable kingdom. The poison vine often produces swellings, especially in children.

"As rattlesnakes are rare in the vicinity of the villages, it is, of course, seldom that any one is bitten by them; these Indians are said, however, to have very good remedies against the bite. Frozen limbs are rubbed with snow. When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gun powder and water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint or a knife. They often apply to the whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of wasp's nest."

Mandan Burials. "When a Mandan or a Minnetaree dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village, but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children, wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers, 'The lord of life has, indeed, told

000

us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again; yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them.' They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-colored, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one; that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependent on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star."

Mourning. "They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and after with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after the death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it; he brings one or two woolen cloths, of a red, blue, white or green color, and, as soon as the body is laid upon the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honor to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having performed this last office, unties the animal and leads it away. If a Mandan or a Minnetaree falls in battle, and the news of his death reaches the family, who are unable to recover the body, a buffalo skin is rolled up and carried to the village. All those who desire to lament the deceased assemble, and many articles of value are distributed among them. The mourners cut off their hair, wound themselves with knives, and make loud lamentations. Joints of the fingers are not cut

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

off here, as among the Blackfeet, as a token of mourning, but as a sign of penance and offering to the lord of life and the first man."

Mandan Language—Dialects. "The English and French find the pronunciation of the Mandan language extremely difficult; while to a German, or to a Dutchman, it is considerably easier because it contains very many gutterals, like ach, och, uch, in German. The nasal sounds, on the contrary, are few, but they frequently speak in a very indistinct way, having the mouth scarcely opened. The vowels are often softened, and much depends on the way in which the accent falls. The vowels a and u are often only half pronounced, but occur very frequently. I collected many words, as specimens of the language, and wrote down phrases, and made an attempt to compile a grammar of the Mandan language, but the completion of it was, unfortunately, hindered by unfavorable circumstances. Several old persons assured me that they perfectly remembered that, in their youth, many resemblances between the Mandan and Minnetaree languages did not then exist, which have since gradually crept in; the two languages being then quite different, which, indeed, they are still, in the main."

"As nations and allies, however, they have reciprocally adopted many words and expressions, and hence there is a better understanding among them now than heretofore, and their intercourse is greatly facilitated. Time will, undoubtedly, produce a still closer approximation. It is a remarkable fact, and proves how easily the separation of single tribes, and even villages, of one and the same nation, leads to changes in the language, and transitions into other dialects. An example of this kind was presented in the two Mandan villages, where many diversities of language had already taken place. I collected many specimens of this kind, and, to me, it was highly interesting. The Mandans are more apt in learning foreign languages than many other nations. Thus the majority of them speak the Minnetaree language, whereas but few of the latter understand the Mandan language. Most of the American nations, at least, those on the Missouri, are said to have no maledictory words or terms of abuse; the Mandans have nothing of the kind but the expression—'bad people.' The article is wanting in the Mandan language, and there is no distinction of gender, except in addressing a man or woman. For my observation on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who has lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, and are often equivalent to the whole sentences; all surrounding objects are made use of in giving names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: 'The bear which is a spirit'; 'The bull which is a spirit,' 'I hear somebody coming'; 'There are seven of them married to the old woman,' etc." 800

As seen from Maximilian's concluding words on the Mandans, he failed to find that the Mandans spoke the Gaelic language. But what he affirms in opposition to the claim that their complexion was fairer than that of other Indians in general seems in some contrast to his opening observations relative to their complexion. He thus concludes:

"In conclusion, I would say, that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has been long ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians."

Dr. Matthews' Views. "From a work entitled "Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians," prepared by Dr. Washington Matthews, assistant surgeon United States army, published by the federal government in connection with and as a part of Hayden's Survey (1877), we quote the following extracts from the elaborate and authoratative observations of Dr. Matthews found therein; he having been stationed near the Fort Berthold village of the confederated tribes in the sixties and seventies of the last century, and for several years while there made close study of the Mandan, Ariccaree and Hidatsa (or Minnetaree) Indians and of their language, particularly as to the Hidatsa language. His entire work in that behalf was published, composed of "Ethnography of the Hidatsa Indians," his "Hidatsa Grammar," his "Hidatsa Dictionary," and his "English-Hidatsa Vocabulary," in one volume. The entire work is of a very high order of excellence, and is in fact one of the leading authorities of its kind in existence. All that appears below is from his "Ethnography." 114

114 The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

131 **Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc.** "An arid prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

000 See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village is as follows:

361 **Dwellings.** "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

342 And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

and it is protected by a narrow shed or entry from six to ten feet 342
long. Over the smoke-holes of many of the lodges are placed frames of wicker-work, on which skins are spread to the windward in stormy weather to keep the lodges from getting smoky. Sometimes bull-boats are used for this purpose. On the site of a proposed lodge, they often dig down a foot or more, in order to find earth compact enough to form a good floor; so, in some lodges, the floors are lower than the general surfaces of the ground on which the village stands. The floor is of earth, and has in its center a circular depression, for a fire-place, about a foot deep, and three or four feet wide, with a edging of flat rocks. These dwellings, being from thirty to forty feet in diameter, from ten to fifteen feet high in the center, and from five to seven feet high at the eaves, are quite commodious."

Women Construct Them. "The labor of constructing them is 342
performed mostly by the women; but in lifting and setting the 462
heavier beams, the men assist. If, with the aid of steel axes obtained 412
from the whites, the task of building such a house is no easy one at this day, how difficult it must have been a century 322
ago, when the stone axe was their best implement, and when the larger logs had to be burned through in order that pieces of suitable length might be obtained."

Frame of Lodge. "The frame of the lodge is thus made: A 342
number of stout posts, from ten to fifteen, according to the size of the lodge, and raising to the height of about five feet above the surface of the earth, are set about ten feet apart in a circle. On the tops of these posts, solid beams are laid, extending from one to another. Then, towards the center of the lodge, four posts are erected, of much greater diameter than the outer posts, and rising to the height of ten or more feet about the ground. These four posts stand in the corners of a square about fifteen feet, and their tops are connected with four heavy logs or beams laid horizontally. From the four center beams to the smaller external beams, long poles, or rafters, are stretched at an angle of about 30 degrees with the horizon; and from the outer beams to the earth a number of shorter poles are laid at an angle of about 45 degrees. Finally, a number of saplings or rails are laid horizontally to cover the space between the four central beams, leaving only a hole for the combined skylight and chimney. This frame

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 is then covered with willows, hay and earth, as before mentioned; the covering being of equal depth over all parts of the frame.

"Earlier writers speak of the supporting-posts of the lodge as being forked. Nowadays, they seldom take the trouble to obtain forked sticks for this purpose."

Catlin's Incorrect Representations. "From the above description, it will be seen that the outline of a vertical section, or of the elevation of such a lodge, is necessarily an irregular hexagon, while that of its ground plan is polygonal, the angles being equal in number to the shorter uprights. Prince Maximilian's artist usually sketches the lodge very correctly; but Mr. Catlin invariably gives an incorrect representation of its exterior. Wherever he dipicts a Mandan, Aricaree, or Minnetaree lodge, he makes it appear as an almost exact hemisphere, and always omits the entry. It would seem that, in filling in his sketches, he adopted the hemisphere as a convenient symbol for a lodge. The authors referred to by name in the foot-note on another page speak of the entry passage."

The winter quarters of the Mandans and their confederates are thus described by Matthews:

342 **Winter Log-Houses.** "Every winter, until 1866, the Indians
left their permanent village, and, moving some distance up the
361 Missouri valley, built temporary quarters, usually in the center of
221 heavy forests and in the neighborhood of buffalo. The chief objects of this movement were that they might have fuel convenient, and not exhaust the supply of wood in the neighborhood of the permanent village. It was also advisable that, during a portion of the year at least, they should not harass the game near home. The houses of the winter village resembled much the log-cabins of our own western pioneers. They were neatly built, very warm, had regular fire-places and chimneys built of sticks and mud, and square holes in the roofs for the admission of light. Ten years ago, there were some cabins of this description in the permanent village at Fort Berthold; every year since they are becoming gradually more numerous and threaten to gradually supplant the original earth-covered lodges. By reference to the note on page 4, it will be seen that, in 1872, the former outnumbered the latter by about nineteen."

odd Of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-of the caches or circular pits of the confederated villages Matthews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of those caches on said site in 1905: 251

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it a religious character, as did Catlin and others: 346 361

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to- 778

778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Mandans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their
174 accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are 773
the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of 243
worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, 174
which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When 361
Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four
tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabit- 177
ing the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a 167
hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

167 smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

"The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota
101 name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves**. A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People**, or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13-14.)

114 Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

Population—Official Reports—Errors. "The population of the
161 village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they have suspected and thwarted them all. In the reports of the commissioners of Indian affairs, various estimates of their strength may be found, but they are all conjectural. In the report of 1862, it is stated that the Gros Ventres and Mandans, in that year, numbered 1,120, and the Aricarees (then in a separate but neighboring village) 1,000, total 2,120. In the report of 1866 are the following 'approximate numbers': Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total 2,300. In the report of 1871, the population is thus given: Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total, 'about' 2,300. In these estimates, which vary greatly, the first gives the population of the Gros Ventres and Mandans together as more than the Rees; while, in the second and third estimates, the Rees are represented as about twice as numerous as the other two tribes together. In this respect, believe the first quoted estimate to be nearest the truth; for the houses occupied by the Gros Ventres and Mandans number more than those occupied by the Rees. In the estimate of 1866, it will be seen that the Gros Ventres and Mandans are represented as equal to one another. I have many reasons for believing this representation to be incorrect. The conjecture of the writer, based upon all ascertainable data, is that, within the past ten years, the proper population of the village has never been more than 2,500, and that, at present, it is much less. It is pretty certain, too, that of the three tribes, the Aricarees stand first in numerical strength, the Hidatsa second, and the Mandans third. 161

"However, if a perfect census of the village was taken any day, when no hunting parties were out, it would not show the strength of these tribes; for the scouts who are enlisted at distant posts, their families, and the Minnetarees, who, of late years, have gone to live with the Crows, constituting in all a large proportion of this people, could not be included." (p. 16-17.)

We quote the following valuable extract from Mathews' regarding various languages of the Fort Berthold confederates: c00

Conversation—Distinct Languages. "To the philologist, it is an interesting fact that this trio of savage clans, although now living in the same village, and having been next door neighbors to each other for more than a hundred years, on terms of peace and intimacy, and to a great extent intermarried, speak, nevertheless, totally distinct languages, which show no perceptible inclination to coalesce. 177

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 clination to coalesce. The Mandan and Gros Ventre (or Minne-
197 taree) languages are somewhat alike, and probably of a very distinct common origin; but no resemblance has yet been discovered between either of these and the Aricaree ('Ricaras').
191 Almost every member of each trib understands the languages of the other tribes, yet he speaks his own most fluently; so it is not an uncommon thing to hear a dialogue carried on in two languages, one person, for instance, questioning in Mandan, and the other answering back in Gros Ventre, and vice versa.

"Many of them understand the Dakota tongue, and use it as a means of intercommunication, and all understand the sign language. So, after all, they have no trouble in making themselves understood by one another. These Indians must have excellent memories and 'good capacity for study;' for it is not uncommon to find persons among them, some even under twenty years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different languages." (p. 17-18.)

As showing the aptness of the Rees and Mandans in working in glass or absidian, Matthews says:

323 **Glass-Work—Beads.** "The articles of glass spoken of above
301 are chiefly of two kinds. First, large, globular, or ellipsoidal beads; and, second, flat, irregularly triangular plates or pendants, which are glazed only on one side, and have a hole at the apex. The art of making these deserves more than a mere mention, since it is commonly believed that the aboriginal Americans, even the more civilized races, knew nothing of the manufacture of glass at the time of the Columbian discovery. The very earliest ethnographical account we have of the Aricarees and Mandans shows that they knew how to make glass beads; and there is no doubt that the process employed in 1804 was essentially the same as that employed today." (Here follows the account given by Lewis and Clarke, already set forth herein and quoted by Matthews; after which he resumes:)

Not Glass Product. "This art is now only occasionally practiced in the village, and is mostly confined to the making of the flat triangular pendants. I have heard the process described in much the same way as in the above quotation. From this quotation, however, which is in part ambiguous, the inference might be drawn that the ornaments, when completed consist entirely of

323
301

glass. Such is not the case in those I have seen; on the contrary, they consist of a core of baked earth covered with a thin shell of glass; and they have the appearance of having been perforated before heat was applied. But in the matter of making the holes, the process may have been changed, or there may have been two ways of doing it." (p. 20-21.)

Rees and Mandans—Glazed Ornaments? "The art of making these ornaments would appear to be old; yet the process as it existed in 1804 was evidently in part recent, since the Indians obtained the glass which they used from the whites. I have been informed by the Indians that in old days the art flourished among the Aricarees as well as among the Mandans; and certainly at the present day the Aricaree women understand it. I had two of the triangular pendants made to order in 1870, by an Aricaree woman, to whom I furished the blue glass necessary. When I gave instructions to have the articles made, I was invited to witness the process, but circumstances prevented me from doing so. One of these pendants was sent to the Smithsonian Institution. It is strange, if true, that these Indians should have obtained their knowledge of this art from the Snake Indians, a ruder and equally remote tribe. It is also strange, and undoubtedly true, that in 1804, as well as now, they did not make their glass, but obtained it ready-made, and merely fused it for their purposes, obtaining it, doubtlessly, from the whites. It is strange that within a few years after glass beads of European manufacture were first introduced among them, and when such beads must have commanded a high price, they should pulverize them and use the powder in making ruder and more unsightly articles after their own design. But it is not probable that they should have learned such an art from civilized people prior to 1804, when they had as yet seen but few whites, and when the whites they had seen were mostly rude Canadian frontiersmen, among whom it is not reasonable to suppose there were any persons versed in glass-making. I have heard Indians say, with uncertainty, that in former times they found glass in the hills, and pounded it for their beads; meaning perhaps that they used natural glass, which may be found where lignite beds have taken fire, and elsewhere on the upper Missouri. In view of all these facts, I have conjectured that they had the art of making glazed earthern ornaments before

323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of
improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed
the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or
other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps
an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent
origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not
as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as
[584] the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in mar-
riage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done,
one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down
over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband
removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they
exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently,
[824] for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punc-
tata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe,
721 and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disap-
peared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the
bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and
were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that
they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the
Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinook 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific.

These are now supplied to the trade under the name of California 439
shells. Ten years ago, one of these shells, unpolished, sold for a 201
good robe. There is little doubt that they used Abalone, Dentalium, and other sea shells before the traders brought them. Old traders and old Indians say so. Even as late as 1833, it would seem that they had not yet become a regular part of a trader's outfit; for Maximilian says of the Mandans: 'They do not disfigure the bodies; only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass, or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea." (p. 28.)

Matthews quotes the following expressions from D. D. Mitchell, 000
found in Schoolcraft's work, concerning visitors to the Mandans in the eighteenth century:

McIntosh's Early Visit. "In a letter published in Schoolcraft's 177
Information Respecting the Indian Tribes, the writer, D. D. Mitchell, says, speaking of the Mandans: 'The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. McIntosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with, the French trading company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossing over the country to the Missouri river, and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day.' I have never seen McIntosh's account, nor have I seen any more extensive notice of it than the one given by Mr. Mitchell; and from this, it does not appear that McIntosh visited any of these agricultural Indians except the Mandans." (p. 29.)

And Matthews expresses the view that British and French traders and interpreters were among the Mandans prior to 1804, all of which appears in evidence hereinbefore submitted. He believes the earliest Europeans to reach them were from Hudson Bay territory, but he was, as he admits (p. 29), unaware of Verendrye's expedition referred to by Catlin, who is criticised by Matthews for failing to "tell us where the account of the expedition of 1738 is to be found," adding: "No other mention of the journey has ever been seen by me."

Matthews thus refers to the peaceable relations nearly always 648
existing between the Mandans and Rees and the Americans:

1: DeLand O-4 (No date) 1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

648 **Peaceable With Americans—Government Neglect.** "During a short period of their history, the Aricarees were at war with the Americans; but for many years they have strictly maintained peace, and have fought with us and against our enemies. The Mandans and Minnetarees claim never to have shed a white man's blood, although some of their number have been killed by whites. For their fidelity they have been repaid in starvation and neglect. [165] Many of these friendly Indians, particularly among the Aricarees, have during the/past ten years, died of actual hunger or the diseases incident to a state of famine. Within the past three years there seem to be some evidences of increased legislative interest in them, but the benefits arising therefrom are by no means equal to their needs or their deserts." (p. 31-32.)

142 **Complexion—Hidatsa and Mandan.** "The majority of the Hidatsa have the ordinary dusky Indian complexion, which is, however, not of a uniform shade, as far as I have seen in any tribe. There are none of this nation that would be considered dark for Indians. Among various tribes of western Indians may be found individuals, claiming pure aboriginal blood, who possess complexions much fairer than the average Indian, with light-colored hair and eyes. Such individuals are more common among the Mandans and Minnetarees than they are among most of the neighboring tribes. A natural or inherited clearness of complexion, too, is more easily discernable among members of the village tribes than among members of roving bands who are more exposed to the weather. The presence of pale Indians in these tribes was noted by travelers in early days, before intermarriages with whites were common enough to have accounted for it."

Mandans' Fair Skin. "Lewis and Clarke and Gass notice this fairness when speaking of the Mandans only, but their remarks are general. Catlin speaks of the fairness of the Mandans only, and supposes this peculiarity to arise from some pre-Columbian infusion of European blood. The Prince of Neuwied, who visited these tribes but one year later than Mr. Catlin, denies that the Mandans are of fairer complexion than their neighbors, while he asserts, at the same time, that, 'after a thorough ablution, the skin of some of them appears almost white.' I have heard old Mandans say that when the Minnetarees, including the Crows, first came among them, the strangers were a fairer race than they.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"Of the Crows, who, as before shown, once formed one nation with the Hidatsa, Colonel Reynolds, in his Report of the Exploration of the Yellowstone (1859), p. 48, says: 'The Crows are fairer than the Sioux, many of the mountain band being sallow and hardly a shade darker than whites who undergo similar exposure. This fact was so marked that the first seen were supposed to be half breeds, but we were assured that they were of pure Indian descent.' " 000

European Blood Not Essential. "It is not necessary to suppose that an intermixture of European blood in order to account for lightness of color in an Indian. There is no reason why marked varieties of color should not arise in the red race as it has done in other races of men, and as it has so often done, under cultivation, within specific limits in the lower animals. I have seen full-blooded Indians who were whiter than some half-breeds and whiter than the darkest representatives of the Aryan race. An increase of hairiness is a more reliable sign of Caucasian blood in an Indian than a diminution of color in the skin; and I never could discover that those fair Indians, claiming pure blood, were more hairy than others. The fairness of which I speak is not albinism, for the eyesight of the fair Indians is as perfect as that of the dark; they have no unusual appearance of the pupil, and exposure to sunlight darkens their skins. I have never seen an Albino Indian."

Gray Hair—Minnetarees and Mandans. "Among various western tribes, individuals may be found who are characterized, even in childhood, by having coarse gray hair. From all I could see and learn, I should think that such persons are more numerous among the Minnetarees and Mandans than in any other tribe; and they are perhaps the most numerous among the Mandans." (pp. 43 and 44.) 142

Language Sonants—Mandans Different. "If a party of Indians should be seated in an adjoining room, or at a short distance from the listener, conversing, where the voices can be heard, but not a syllable distinguished, the accustomed ear has little difficulty in discerning which one of the many languages of the plains the Indians are speaking. Each language has its own peculiar sonant character. It is more difficult to distinguish by this character the Hidatsa from the Crow than from the Dakota 000

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 or Mandan, and more difficult to distinguish it from the latter than from the former of these two. The tones of these four languages belonging to the Dakota group are somewhat alike; so much alike that a person possessing but limited acquaintance with them might mistake one for another, hearing it at a distance as I have described. But the contrast in tone between these tongues and the neighboring, but alien, Aricaree is well marked, and any quick-eared person might learn at once to distinguish it from them."

Matthews declares that the tendency to coalescence in the languages of the tribes confederated at Ft. Berthold has been slight since they were known to the whites. He says:

Changes in Course of Time. Coalescence Slight. "I have
177 said that the three languages spoken in the village at Fort
197 Berthold show no perceptible inclination to coalesce (Ethnography, Sec. 13.) I have said this, well knowing that the statement was somewhat at variance with the opinions of earlier observers. The few Mandan and Minnetaree words given by Lewis and Clarke in proper names show, as far as they go, that the languages have not materially changed since 1804. There are now, and doubtless there were in 1804, many points of correspondence between the Mandan and Hidatsa languages; but there are none which may not be more easily explained by supposing the two languages to have sprung from a common source than by supposing them to have been reciprocally changed by contact. I never could discover that the Hidatsa and Mandan spoken by the rising generation resembled one another more than did those languages spoken by the old men. I do not claim that the long and intimate intercourse which has existed between these two tribes has produced no approximation or coalescence of their languages. It is but reasonable to suppose that the contrary is the case; but I could never get an Indian to point out to me, nor could I ever otherwise discover, a satisfactory instance of such coalescence." (p. 84-85.)

197 He further claims that the Mandan and Aricaree languages are totally different:

Mandan and Ree Languages—No Resemblance. "Throughout the past hundred years, the Mandans have had as much intercourse with the Aricarees as with the Minnetarees; yet I never

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and 197
Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not a single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case and none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the change has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence of the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally converse among themselves in terms which younger members of the tribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they say they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.)

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a 114
missionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C. Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans, whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said work, pages 271, et seq., the following:

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, 161
N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few
hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee 197
tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. 191
Altogether they numbered about two thousand souls. We had before this entertained the desire that we might be able to establish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming a kind of common language for them.

"**Howard Mandan**, or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his In- 000
dian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow**, the principal chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H. Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good many years and talked English well.

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 dans, by his effort to prove, from their **red hair** in some cases—perhaps only **redded hair**—and, in some instances, blue eyes, and the resemblances which he claims to have found in their languages —that they were the descendants of a Welsh colony that had dropped out of history a thousand years ago. And Dr. Washington Matthews, of the United States army, had created in us a desire to do something for the spiritual enlightment of the Hidatsa, by his admirable grammar and dictionary of their language. In his introduction to this book he gives us much valuable information about the people."

"**Minnetaree.**" "Hidatsa, he tells us, is the name by which they call themselves. They are better known to us by the names Minnetaree and Gros Ventre. This last is a name given them by the Canadian French, and without any special reason. It is a fact that Indians can eat large quantities of food, but it is very rarely indeed that you will find one whose appearance would justify the epithet Gros Ventre. The other term, Minnetaree, is the name given them by the Mandans, and means **to cross the water.** The story is, that when the Hidatsa people came to the Missouri river from the northeast, the Mandan village was on the west side of the river. They called over, and the Mandans answered back in their own language, 'Who are you?' The Hidatsa not understanding it, supposed they had asked, 'What do you want?' And so replied, '**Minnetaree, to cross over the water.**' "

The "Underground" Myths. "Whence came the Hidatsa? Their legend says they **originally** lived **under** a great body of water which lies far to the northeast of where they now live. From this under-water residence some persons found their way out, and discovering a country much better than the one in which they lived, returned and gave to their people such glowing accounts of their discoveries that the whole nation determined to come out. But owing to the breaking of a tree on which they were climbing out of the lake, a great part of the tribe had to remain behind in the water, and they are there yet.

"This is very much like the myth of another tribe, who lived under the ground by a lake. A large grape-vine sent its tap root through the crust of the earth, and by that they commenced to climb out. But a very fat woman taking hold of the vine, it broke, and the remainder were doomed to stay where they were. Do such legends contain any reference to the great deluge?

"After the Hidatsa came up they commenced a series of wanderings over the prairie. During their migrations they were often ready to die of hunger, but were always rescued by the interference of their deity. It was not manna rained down around their camp, but the stones of the prairie were miraculously changed into buffalo, which they killed and ate. After some time they sent couriers to the south, who came back with the news that they had found a great river and a fertile valley, wherein dwelt a people who lived in houses and tilled the ground. They brought back corn and other products of the country. To this beautiful and good land the tribe now directed their march, and, guided by their messengers, they reached the Mandan villages on the Missouri river. With them they camped and learned their peaceful arts.

"Dr. Matthews says they have a tradition that, during these years of wandering, the Genius of the Sun took up one of the Hidatsa maidens, and their offspring came back, and, under the name of Grand-Child, was the great prophet and teacher of his mother's people. Can that have any reference to the 'Son of Man?'"

Confederates' Languages. "These Indians, the Mandans, the Hidatsa, and the Rees, live in one village at Berthold, in all numbering over two thousand; and they have lived together, as we know, more than a hundred years, and yet the languages are kept perfectly distinct and separate. Many of them learn each other's language; and many of them talk Dakota also. 'Many years ago they were considered ripe for the experiments of civilization; they stand today just as fit subjects as ever for the experiment, which never has been, and possibly never will be, tried.' This is Dr. Matthews' statement. Let us hope that the latter part may not be prophetic."

Brower's Views. "Hon. Jacob V. Brower, a deep student and investigator into the Indians of the Missouri valley as well as of the archeology and other phases of that region, published, at St. Paul, Minn., in 1897, one of his works entitled, 'The Missouri River and Its Utmost Sources.' Indian ethnology is treated of therein, and of the Mandans and their recent allies he speaks, as shown in part by extracts found below. He claims to have found in the upper Missouri regions and near the sources of the Mississippi, evidences of prehistoric Mound Builders' work. The Yellowstone Park region is also referred to in connection with the theory concerning alleged evidences there of prehistoric implements of obsidian materials, etc. Mr. Brower investigated southerly as far as the Indian Territory, into the archeology of the Pawnees, and declared that he had traced the Aricarees from the upper Missouri to that region through finding the pink chert arrowheads, etc., which were discovered throughout the entire length of that valley; some of his statements being found herein in connection with his correspondence with Mr. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D. The extracts follow:

The Mound Builders On Upper Mississippi and Missouri. "Now comes the necessity of briefly referring to the prehistoric Mound Builders, for their remnants, remains, tumuli, pottery, stone and copper implements, arrow points, spears, village sites and effigies are everywhere found in the upper portion of the basin of the Mississippi, and far up toward the mountain sources of the Missouri and its branches."

Crossed Continental Divide. "They were a courageous people, industrious, possessed of ability, were geographers of no limited ideas, penetrating to the utmost limits of the central and western portions of the United States and across the continental divide into Canadian territory, maintained mines in the copper regions of Superior, and discovered portages leading to and from all the principal water courses in the territory occupied."

Unsolved Mystery—Controversy Vindictive. "No individual member of the present generation of the Anglo-Saxon race can truthfully state who the Mound Builders were, where they came from, or whence they departed. There seems to be an unfathomable mystery surrounding their former existence, and it is not probable that it will ever be solved satisfactorily. Opinions differ, and the controversy, which has continued for nearly a century in contemporaneous archaeological history, has been so unfortunate and vindictive that misleading and deceptive assertions, based only upon set opinions that may be entirely erroneous, have been forced upon unwilling readers, who are cheerfully searching for accurate information, until the point has been reached where

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the record made is almost draped in the folds of acrimony and distortion. 000

"Standing aside from these acrimonious controversies, which deteriorate the value and reliability of conclusions drawn and opinions formulated, the unbiased course is left open for all these who seek for the most reliable information concerning an extinct race of men, of whom we know so little. Builders of mounds have existed from time to time for many centuries, in various parts of the world, but none more systematic and uniquely interesting than prehistoric man in the upper basin of the Mississippi."

Minnesota Effigies. "In 1894 in company with Dr. Shanafelt and Rev. S. Hall Young, the editor of these notes had the pleasure of exploring the remarkable Tascodiac effigies, situated in northern Minnesota at the most northerly course of the Mississippi, approximately, latitude 47 degrees, 30 minutes; longitude 94 degrees, 45 minutes, west of Greenwich."

Prehistoric Mound Near Bismarck—Not Mandan? "On the west bank of Apple creek, at the Sibley rifle-pits, near Bismarck, N. D., in July, 1895, a genuine prehistoric mound was discovered by the writer, upon section 27, township 138, range 80, west of the fifth principal meridian. The attention of Mr. Walter F. Cushing, secretary of the State Historical Society at Bismarck, was called toward this discovery. On the 12th of September last Mr. Cushing caused this mound to be excavated and explored, and the evidences were sufficient to determine that the mound was not of Mandan origin but prehistoric in all its surroundings, 1,436 miles above the mouth of the Missouri. This class of mounds are found in many parts of the two Dakota states, but systematic exploration has not yet been extended sufficiently toward the upper branches of the Missouri to certainly ascertain how far up those streams the Mound Builders extended their occupancy previous to the advent of the North American Indian." 172

At Head-Waters of Mississippi Branches. "It is now known as a certainty that they penetrated northward to Itasca lake and every branch of the Mississippi in its upper or head-water basin. As the Yellowstone National Park is situated immediately east of the most remote branch of the Missouri, numerous explorations near the Obsidian quarries of that wonderful locality are perti- 000

000 nent, and Capt. Hiram M. Chittenden, United States army, has considerately furnished for these pages the following condensed account of the researches of Colonel Norris, formerly superintendent of the park, and who divided the honor of the discovery of the Obsidian cliff with Mr. W. H. Holmes."

(Here Brower quotes sundry statements and conclusions from Col. Norris' reports as superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park, in which the latter refers to alleged steatite vessels, and which he believed differed from other specimens east or west, found by him in that park, and then quotes from Chittenden as follows in part:)

Norris' Conclusions Criticized. "In attempting to draw conclusions from evidence like the foregoing, it is necessary to take into consideration the personal characteristics of its author. Colonel Norris had a large admixture of quixotism in his nature, and the park was just the place to draw it all out. He saw everything there through a magnifying glass; and, like Don Quixote, beheld in what he saw the embodyment of all his overwrought fancy had led him to expect. It was an impossibility for him to talk or write of that region without exaggeration—not intentional, but the natural overflow of his exuberant imagination. All his distances, descriptions of scenery, personal achievements, are grossly overstated."

Further on Chittenden's observations furnished to Brower he says:

Vessels Not by Civilized Races. "It is wholly impossible to accept Norris' discoveries as affording the least support to the conclusions which he draws from them. Even admitting that he did find remnants of hand-wrought vessels, it is to be observed that they were found in the valleys of the Madison or the Yellowstone and its principal eastern tributary—in both cases along routes of travel. They were evidently dropped by migrating parties and were brought from points outside the park. Considering the nature of the park climate, which can hardly be supposed to have been less rigid than now since the advent of man upon earth, it is clearly impossible that this region could ever have been occupied by races pursuing the arts of civilized life."

And Chittenden concludes that those implements were furnished by older generations of the Indians:

Indians' Ancestors Worked Obsidian. "But while there is nothing on which to base a conclusion that a more civilized race once dwelt in the park, there is conclusive evidence that the ancestors of the present Indian races resorted to that region for the manufacture of implements or war and of the chase. Since the time when Obsidias discovered the volcanic glass which now bears his name, that material has been wrought into innumerable devices for ornament and use. Obsidian is an opaque, black, glassy substance, breaking with a conchoidal fracture and yielding sharp-edged fragments which have long been used in the manufacture of primitive weapons of destruction. Perhaps no better or more abundant quarry for this material is to be found in the world, than in the now celebrated Obsidian cliffs in the Yellowstone National Park." 000

And after referring to Prof. W. H. Holmes' report in the Hayden report of 1883, in which the former expresses the belief that these implements were made by visiting Indians from "neighboring valleys," and who refers to certain trails passing that vicinity—Chittenden quotes from Norris' vivid description of the famous Obsidian cliffs in the Yellowstone Park, and concludes:

"The facts set forth in these extracts have since been abundantly verified. Arrow and spear heads and similar instruments, generally composed of obsidian, have been found throughout the park in considerable numbers. Their discovery does not in any way establish an early occupancy of this region by Indians. Being generally found on the lines of trails, they may have been, and probably were for the most part, dropped by wandering bands who were crossing the park or visiting this quarry."

We will quote at some length from Hon. Olin D. Wheeler's interesting and valuable work, "The Trail of Lewis and Clarke" (Putman's Sons, 1904), wherein he publishes his views upon various characteristics of the Mandans; and concerning the visits of early explorers; extracts from which publication we are, through the courtesy and deep interest of that able and attractive writer, permitted to make in this paper, and for which this society wishes to express its appreciations:

Wheeler's Observations. "The first mention made of the Mandans was by Verendrye, the father, who, with two of his sons saw them in the Missouri in 1738. The sons again saw them in

1 DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 1742, on what is now assumed to have been the first expedition to attempt to explore the Rocky mountains." (Wheeler.)

Stationary—Agriculturists. "The Mandans were not like the other plains' Indians—hostile, nomadic, improvident, etc. It has been their boast—I am not sure how true it may be—that, like the Flatheads, the blood of the white man has never been spilled by them. They lived, as our story reveals, in stockaded villages of earthern huts, made war on other tribes defensively only, cultivated the ground, raising corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans, etc., and were, all in all, deserving in most ways of the high opinions formed of them by Lewis and Clarke. In a rough way these Mandans were, probably, more nearly comparable to the peaceful, town-living Pueblos of the southwest than any other tribes." (p. 211.)

Verendrye's Visits. "In pursuance of his plan to discover the Western Sea, Verendrye the elder, with his two sons, some Frenchmen, and Indians, thirty-four persons in all, left Fort la Reine—now Portage la Prairie—in Manitoba, in the fall of 1738, and reached the Mandans after a trip of much toil and hardship. Here he purposed remaining during the winter, but his interpreter deserted him and, after prevailing upon two Frenchmen to remain and learn the Mandan language, Verendrye, utterly disgusted and broken-hearted, returned with the rest to Fort la Reine, reaching there Febbruary 11, 1739. The state of his feelings may be discerned from his cry that, 'death alone can deliver us from such miseries.'

"Going to Montreal, in 1739, Verendrye returned to Fort la Reine in 1741, and found that his eldest son, the Chevalier, had just reached there from another trip to the Mandans, where he had obtained a cotton blanket said to have come from white men (Spaniards?) near the Western Sea.

"Another expedition was planned and, led by the Chevalier Verendrye and his brother, it left Fort la Reine April 29, 1742, and arrived at the Mandan towns on May 18th. There they remained until late in July waiting for the 'Gens des Chevaux'—People of the Horses—Indians who were to act as their guides. But these not appearing, they obtained two Mandan guides and started for the Western Sea." (p. 213.)

Wheeler thus criticises the accounts which ascribe to Mandan

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lodges a circular form; and Catlin's alleged failure to truly depict those habitations as to appearance, etc.: 000

"Mrs. Baker, a daughter of Two Chiefs an old Mandan who has seen seventy-two snows, and a graduate of the Indian school at Santee, Neb., and who converses and writes well in English, stated that there were not more than five or six earth lodges to be found on the reservation today. 342

"The word 'circular' used by the writers quoted in describing these huts must be taken in its larger, general meaning. The huts were really irregularly polygonal in shape. Those I saw were forty feet in diameter, perhaps, and the first had nine sides and second eleven. In one case one of the sides was double the length of the others."

Catlin Criticised. "Catlin's pictorial representations of these huts are not true to nature. The lodges were of a much more squatty appearance than he depicts them and without any such high arched, dome-like, hemispherical roof as he places upon them. He evidently adopted a conventional and largely imaginary figure for his huts, and pushed artistic license to the extreme. At a little distance the general effect was sufficiently that of a 'circular' structure to justify the use of the word when not used in a restrictive sense.

"When at Fort Berthold, I was informed that the very aged Mandan chief, Rushing Eagle, or more commonly, Bad Gun, descended from the great chief Four Bears, whom, I regret, I was not able to see, had kept standing until recently a very old lodge in which he kept some ancient relics, and that among these were some of the identical articles that Catlin had painted into his pictures in 1832. I was not able to verify this. The lodge had but lately been destroyed because of its age and decaying condition." (p. 221.)

Of the Mandan lodges Wheeler observes:

Lodges. "In my visit to the reservation in the fall of 1902 I saw two of these lodges and obtained photographs of them. If there were any differences between these and those of one hundred years ago, except the substitution of wooden for skin doors, they were so slight as not to be noticeable off-hand.

"At one of them, the owner being absent, I was unable to enter it, but through a wide crack in the door I obtained a good view

1:DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 of the interior and it fitted well with the descriptions here given of the old lodges. It was evidently used at the present time for a storage house, at least to some extent, and was not a regular residence, for the log cabin home of the owner stood along side of it.

"At the other hut, across the Missouri river and several miles distant from the first one, the owner refused me permission to invade it, stating that it was used for ceremonial purposes." (p. 220.)

Prototype of Sod Houses. "After my inspection of the two earthern houses mentioned, I could not but be impressed with the fact that these old Mandan and Aricaree lodges were practically the prototypes of the settler's sod house of the prairies of recent time. The sides and roofs of these huts were covered with sod chunks of regular shapes and sizes, just such as we would cut out of the prairie for the same purpose. The porch, covered entrance, or passage-way mentioned was and is a characteristic, standing feature of these earthern lodges, and one which Catlin persistently ignored both in his paintings and text. Maximilian brought out this peculiarity of the Mandan hut in his work."

417 **Ancient Ladder.** "In one of the illustrations of an earth hut there can be seen a notched pole leaning against a scaffold, the latter used now, as in old days, for drying corn, etc. This pole is one of the primitive ladders anciently used by these Indians, and, evidently, not yet entirely discarded."

Says Wheeler relative to the causes of migration of the Mandans on the upper Missouri:

Mandan Deserted Villages—Migrations. "The monuments of
172 these tribes, in the shape of abandoned and ruined huts and
174 towns, are to be found, as has been stated, on the banks of the upper Missouri from about Heart or Cannon-Ball river, below Mandan and Bismarck, to Knife river or beyond. The Indians seem, notwithstanding the great labor involved in so doing, to have moved quite frequently, not necessarily, however, for long distances. As the Sioux harrassed them continually, these removals were due in part to a desire to protect themselves more effectually, and another reason was the scarcity of fuel and timber which in time was felt in each neighborhood. In making these removals, it was quite common, as Lewis and Clarke mention,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Ow- 172
ing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude 174
stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly
carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used
them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife
river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the
Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in
honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was
established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of [483]
which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.' "
(p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, 172
have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these 361
tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history
of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one
of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff
overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri,
just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the
mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less
circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river
as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an
irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet
I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and
knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, 101
the Lower Village, as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke,
the Village on the East, as it was given to, and partially written
for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one
called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this
village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of
the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtain-
ing correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both 241
men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the
field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans,
the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes,
turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best
farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do 231
not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

771 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews dis-
797 cusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tional Indian missionary who has been among the Mandans at Fort Berthold for some thirty years: 797

The Missionaries. "Mr. Hall, the missionary among these people, in discussing their general condition, past and present, says:

"'Twenty-five years ago the old Indian community was like Sodom; now the Indians live decently on the allotments, with their wives, and none of them have more than one. There is vice to fight, but only as in every white community. Religiously the phenomena of growth are seen here as elsewhere. Form and ritual are in sight, and are adopted before the inner power is felt. The old beliefs have largely passed away from the younger generation. The Christian teaching answering to all that was of higher aspiration and better living in the old religion, has saved them from infidelity and won their intellectual faith. The church is more a social centre to them than a spiritual.'

"Both the Congregationalists and Catholics now have religious organizations on the reservation. The former have three churches, and the latter a church and school combined, but this was unused at the time of the writer's visit. One of the Congregational chapels is largely the work of the Aricaree Indians. It cost nine hundred dollars, and of this the Indians contributed more than one-third. They hewed the logs and hauled the stone and lumber, the latter from a distance of sixty miles. There are also a few Episcopalians among these people." (p. 229.)

Says Wheeler of the allowances to be made in judging of the morals of the Mandans: 000

Morals. "In considering the moral excellencies and delinquinces of the old Mandans and allied tribes, we must necessarily, I take it, consider in connection therewith their ideas of entertainment and hospitality. And we must remember that we are reviewing the ethical acts and beliefs of an uncivilized, uncultivated people, touched with the frost of savagery and barbarism, and a hundred years removed, as well, from the canons of moral conduct at present taught them." (p. 230.)

Welsh Theory—Indian Supervision. "In the early days the Mandans were noted for their long light hair and fair complexions. This caused Catlin to exploit a notion that these people were descended from a colony of Welshmen who were supposed to have landed on the Florida coast or thereabouts in very early 142

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

142 days and then mysteriously to have disappeared. The hair of the
men often trailed on the ground, and Henry, Catlin, and others
[302] refer to this in much detail. Now they wear their hair cut short,
of their own volition, and in my brief visit I noticed no peculiarities of complexion or in color or hair. All of them, Mandans, Aricarees, and Minnetarees, seem to be a sturdy, manly set of fellows, with frank and intelligent countenances. I am inclined to think they have not had the best of supervision in the past, nor been treated with sufficient liberality and consideration by the government."

000 **Noted Chiefs—Patriarchs.** "Catlin was effusive in his praise of these Indians, and both he and Maximilian appear to have found some individuals who savored strongly of the Chingachgook type of Indian, and whose memories and virtues are venerated today. Such a man, for one, was the old Mah-to-toh-papa, or Four Bears, of Catlin, the Meto-Tope of Maximilian. and I can easily believe that Lean, or Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre of today, now blind and infirm with the weight of his eighty-three years, has been a man that one could trust and respect. De Smet says that Four Bears was 'the most civil and affable Indian' that he ever met on the Missouri. Two-Chiefs, and Leggings, Mandans, and now old like Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre, or Hidatsa, must also have been men of dignity and character." (Wheeler, p. 240.)

144 **Race Declining.** "As a pure race 'the polite and friendly Mandans,' as they were known to the traders, are slowly but surely declining, and it will not be long before the last one will have departed for the happy hunting grounds. The reservation rolls call for two hundred and fifty Mandans. In talking with Two-Chiefs, I asked him how many full-blood, pure Mandans he thought still remained. The old man, seventy-two years of age, stood in deep thought for several moments, and then replied, 'Not more than ten families; all the others are mixed blood.' Numerically, the tribe as a whole seems to be holding its own." (Wheeler, p. 242.)

731 **Fort Mandan.** "Not a vestige of Fort Mandan remains. On the return of the expedition in 1806, under date of August 17th, the Lewis and Clarke itinerary says: 'In reaching Fort Mandan we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one, had been burnt by an accidental fire.'

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"What the 'accidental fire' left, the remorseless river took long ago. The character of the Missouri along here for the rapid cutting of its banks has been abundantly shown. A century has given ample opportunity for that one hut and those few pickets to have been insidiously undermined and carried away by the stream, and we know from Maximilian that this had been done in 1833." (Wheeler, p. 271.) 731

Wheeler thus expresses his profound impressions upon looking up and down the Missouri from the location of Fort Mandan: 000

Knife River and "Coal Bluff." "As I stood on the high bluffs of the river at this point in 1899, and overlooked the scene, I was profoundly impressed. To the north the distant valley of Knife river, deep green with heavy foliage, leads down to the Missouri; to the south the rough, bluffy ground near me grows rougher and bluffier as it reaches a big bend, and the irregular, grayish, ash-colored cut bank seems like that of a prodigious railway cut; the great river, in a wide, swollen flood, rolls on as it did a hundred years ago, and in broad, massive curve sweeps around a low point on the opposite shore, when, in a mood of inconstancy, it whirls back again in the other direction, and, at the beginning of the curve, is that 'bluff of coal' mentioned by the explorers, standing out strong and plain as a guide to us. Those were the limits—the 'bluff of coal' to the south, the Knife river to the north, and between them were the old Mandan villages, now gone forever.

"There extends for one and one-half or two miles a flat, heavily timbered bottom—Elm Point it is now called, and down near the lower end of it was where old Fort Mandan stood, and with our glasses we can make out, on the opposite shore, all that is left of Fort Clarke, the trading post named after Captain Clarke, and of which but a trace remains." (p. 272.)

Wheeler thus refers to the ravages of the smallpox among the Mandans: 164

Smallpox. "The worst affliction of this sort was subsequent to the visits of Catlin and Maximilian, and it almost completely annihilated the Mandans, if the old accounts are fairly trustworthy.

"In 1837 the smallpox was carried among them from the Missouri river steamboat **St. Peter's**, owned by the American Fur Company, and out of 1600 Mandans, only about 31 or 32 families-

164

were left; 500 Minnetarees out of 1000 fell victims to the pestilence, and 1500 of the 3000 Aricarees also died. The epidemic spread to the other tribes of the north, and Schoolcraft estimates that before its ravages had ceased it claimed at least 10,000 victims; Catlin and Maximilian make the number very much larger. Kenneth McKenzie, of the American Fur Company, in a letter to Catlin, written in June, 1839, states that there were 7,000 Crees and 15,000 Blackfeet wiped out by the disease. In some instances the losses were undoubtedly much exaggerated." (p. 226.)

Wheeler, quoting from Schoolcraft under this head, inserts the following:

"An eye-witness of this scene, writing from Fort Union on the 27th of November, 1837, says: 'Language, however forcible, can convey but a faint idea of the scene of desolation which the country now presents. In whatever direction you turn, nothing but sad wrecks of mortality meet the eye; lodges standing on every hill, but not a streak of smoke rising from them. Not a sound can be heard to break the awful stillness, save the ominous croak of ravens and the mournful howl of wolves fattening on the human carcasses that lie strewed around.' "

Another writer says:

"Many of the handsome Aricarees, who had recovered, seeing the disfiguration of their features, committed suicide; some by throwing themselves from rocks, others by stabbing and shooting. The prairie has become a grave-yard; its wild flowers bloom over the sepulchres of Indians."

Wheeler then resumes, thus:

"There can be no question, from all the reports, that this visitation was one of the most awful, wide-spread, decimating scourges that ever afflicted any people, not excepting the Egyptians who were made to suffer for Pharaoh's hardness of heart. In telling me about this scourge, Two-Chiefs, an old Mandan who shows marks of the disease, stated that the Gros Ventres ran away when the disease appeared—they didn't run fast enough nor far enough to escape it, however—and that when the pestilence had run its course the Aricarees moved into the Mandan villages and boldly appropriated the huts and all their belongings. The Mandans were gone, wiped out, and there were none to use the dwellings or to object to such forced occupancy. Some accounts state that

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762]
throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that, prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

000 kota. It is for us to find traces of the Mandans in South Dakota and farther southeast."

361 To further inquiries by the writer concerning the precise locations of various deserted Mandan and Aricaree villages explored
172 by him, Mr. Steinbreuck responded with the following valuable details:

Mandan and Aricaree Village Sites. "I will answer your questions to the best of my knowledge. The seven villages are strung along the Missouri from about two miles below Apple creek on the east side to about three miles above Burnt creek on the same side. There are remains of Mandan villages on (SW 4, Sec. 14 T. 137 R. 80 NW 4, Sec. 2, T. 139, R. 81, NE 4, Sec. 21, T. 140, R. 81), on the east side, and on (Sec. 13, T. 138, R. 81, Sec. 35, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 27, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 33, T. 140, R. 81), on the west side.

361 "All those villages were found abandoned by Lewis and Clarke.
Lewis and Clarke found the Mandans at the bend of the Missouri
172 near Fort Clarke (built later during 1831-33, started by James
167 Kipp and finished by Mitchell) a little above that fort in two villages (1804). Catlin found the Mandans there also. The Mandans and the Aricarees lived together. The smallpox epidemic was in 1837, after which the Indians moved to the Fort Berthold reservation, where the Hidatsa had gone several years prior. That is all I can tell you about the Mandans. The story goes that the Mandans and Aricarees lived together near Heart river before Lewis and Clarke's time, about twenty years before Lewis and Clarke. That is, some lived in separate villages, some lived with the Mandans. They had a quarrel and separated. Some went up the Missouri with the Mandans, to Fort Clarke, others moved down the river again to that region below the Cannon-Ball. Later, between 1804 and 1834 the balance of the Aricarees below the Cannon-Ball, became too weak, by wars and disease, to withstand the attacks of the Sioux, moved gradually up the Missouri to join their former allies, the Mandans and their own
172 countrymen with the Mandans. This point was near Fort Clarke.
361 There are many Aricaree villages along the Missouri, more in number, than all the Mandan village sites together. All show short time of occupation. This information is obtained by my own investigation and compared with the reports of early travelers, and especially by the study of specimens found at the differ-

ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, 172
and the other an Aricaree village of old. 361

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further 361
states:

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very 167
far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 000
5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583.

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still 621
is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among 124
the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty

621 124 miles west of the site of Old Fort Berthold, is yet known as the Fort Berthold Indian agency, and all of the instrumentalities of the agency, including an Indian school, were centered there, although the agency had been officially discontinued June 30, 1904. But, as stated in Part I of this paper in the account of the Aricarees, the Indians themselves were so completely separated from each other as forming tribal communities as to have erased all semblance of their former tribal relations, and had in fact taken lands in severalty and become citizens. The writer was able to interview but two Mandans in the brief time covered by his visit to that quarter, and was obliged to cross the Missouri and seek them on the southwesterly side of that stream at a point some seven miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri. Through the solicitude of Rev. Hall, and of Hon. Anzi W. Thomas, late Indian agent, an interpreter, who was assistant farmer at the agency, was furnished the writer in connection with the interviews of the Indians Bear's Ghost and Little Owl—two Mandans who were pointed out by Rev. Hall and others as likely to be able to impart information concerning the traditions of their tribe, though neither was an old man; nor was it possible to find an aged member of the tribe near the agency headquarters. Furthermore, there seemed to be no very old member of the former band or tribe within the reservation who was conspicuous as the possessor of the tribal history and traditions in an eminent degree. However, those who were interviewed were evidently equipped to intelligently communicate the seemingly common story of the creation, the flood, etc., as it was understood by the Mandans.

773 "It will be seen that these Indians had no definite information in the nature of tradition as to their origin; but there runs through the narrative an unmistakable thread of marine experience in passing from somewhere beyond the sea or the Mississippi into the interior; as found in the account of the boat 'without the oars'—(indicating, it is believed, sailing vessels)—the 'other Mandans' who came from 'down under the earth,' the first or 'lone man' who while wandering met the 'Coyote' from the south and together they fashioned the whole landscape, made the inhabitants of earth and air; while the 'Corn Mother' who was revered as the symbol of germination and growth, the buffalos representing the four seasons, the ducks which brought earth from under

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

346

MISSION HOUSE, ELBOWOODS, N. D.

281

MANDAN WOMAN SCRAPING HIDE.

[facing p. 640]

773 the water, etc., these and kindred phases of the mythology which is the sole back-ground of their tribal past, make up the substance of the strange narratives unfolded, through the moderate abilities of the interpreter, Joseph Packineau, son of Charles Pactineaude or Pattineaux of the fur-trading days, to the writer.

142 "While there was nothing specially marked about the appearance of Little Owl, we can not refrain from remarking that Bear's Ghost made a distinct impression by his bearing and the manner of his speech. He was one of the most perfect specimens of the commanding physical man we ever observed. His figure was tall and lithe, his eye exceptionally bright, intelligent and winning, his voice soft yet animating; his speech was accompanied by such grace of attitude and fitting gestures as to captivate the listener. His complexion was much lighter than that of the Sioux Indian of the Dakotas, yet not as fair as to relieve his countenance from the general impress of Indian lineage. There was, however, less than usual of the more salient Indian features in high or prominent cheek-bones and roughness of contour. He appeared, in a word, the perfect gentleman and master of expression, and it was difficult to realize that an Indian was discoursing or narrating. His entire attitude was that of intelligent handling of his subject and of utter absence of any sense of inferiority. Sincerity, and a desire to emphasize the point that what he said was truth itself—these elements gave character to his narrative. And while much that he recounted seemed trival and fantastic, yet the air in which it was told gave his story the cast of respect if not of persuasion. We here repeat what has been said before in this paper—that it is believed it is not improbable that the reference to the vine and the under-world was derived from the tradition of the Gros Ventres or Minnetarees who probably came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region.

"Little Owl's account will be first given, as it was obtained first. It is seen that if his narrative and that of Bear's Ghost is given credence the Mandans came up the Missouri and from the lower Mississippi."

773
539 **Little Owl's Account—The Creation, Etc.** "The five villages below the Knife river. Bear-on-the-Water and he is the oldest man, he says they came from the—where the Mississippi empties in the sea; after that I can't give you an account of it. They

had a long boat and they didn't have any oars, and the only thing they did was to get in and told the boat to go—they named it 'The Go.' The boat carried any number except seven; they wouldn't let seven ride, because the boat didn't go right, and gets wicked. They could go across the sea without the oars, they just told the boat to go. That is when they lived at the mouth of the river and the boat was in the sea. The boat would go anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere. There was some Indians on the other side of the sea, when the Mandans—and they go with the boat there and bring the sea shells from the other side of the sea, and the Mandans were there and ~~part of them~~ on this side. This boat travels without oars. So that one day Bad Boy went along and the boat was standing there on the river bank, and Bad Boy told the boat to go, and the boat went and they have never seen the boat since. Then they moved up this way; of course they called the Mississippi the Big River, and this is called the Missouri river; and they came along and in villages that you see at places, at the Mandans, from the mouth of the sea up here. The Rees have villages too; they had villages down by the Cannon-Ball and maybe further. These Mandans came all the way up to Heart river. They came up the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Heart river. Back of the Heart river they called it the Middle Hole, that is where they came from, the other Mandans. They was down in the earth and the Mandans were there; and one young man, he goes by the name of Magpie, he is a spirit, and he finds the light upon the hill up there, and he saw where the vine went up clear up to this earth here, top of the earth, so he climbed up there till he came out this way, and he see the country and the timbers and springs and grass and the games (game), and he killed some game and he took the sinews and some meat and some other part of the hide of the animal and took them down below where the others were and showed them what a nice country there was up here, and they would all go up there; and then he says 'All right, that is the place to go,' and this man took him and showed him, and then the chief says 'All right, we'll go;' and he sent all the Holy Spirit, they got the Holy Spirit, they sent them up first, and they took it up by following this vine, and each friend goes up—climbs up by himself, they go up there night and day right along, till they were about half of them went up, and then the woman came along, she was big, and the people forbid her, and said she better come last, and the woman says 'No, I have a right to go just as well as anybody,' and she got hold of the vine and get up a little ways towards the top and broke the vine, so they—part of them are down in the earth yet; and it is a good many is here, and some of them we grow; some of my father's ancestors away back came from the earth. The vine was below here, at the Middle Hole." 773 539

The First Man. "There is a man—when this earth was no grass, no wood, nothing at all on top, just bare earth—and a man was walking along, and when he walked along and after a while he woke up, and he says 'I wonder where I come from,' all at once; then he turned around and looked at his track, the track was a buffalo track; so the man thought he must know where he come from and he followed his trail back, and then the grass was grown up and had some large white flowers on them, then another nice little fly was sitting on the flower, and the man thought this must be 'I come from here,' his tracks come from where that grass and flower is, and he looked around and he couldn't see any tracks, and the grass spoke and says 'I am the person that sent you up, the Lone Man,' that is the name they gave him, Lone Man. The little fly says to him 'We are the ones that sent you.' At the time that this man went away he had a lance block and he had his pipe when this beginning, to fix the country with, and rules with those things in the country he makes, that is, his commandments. So the Lone Man went off traveling and he met Mr. Coyote Chief, and the Lone Man thought 'I wonder where this man come from. I thought I was the only man in this world in here,' and he met this man and shook hands with him and he says 'Where you come from?' and he told him where he come from, and he says 'Where you come from too?' and Lone Man says 'I am the oldest, you will be my brother but I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule the country,' and the Coyote says 'No, I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule this country, you follow me.' So he says 'We'll go'—Coyote says 'You fix the country, you fix the north and I'll fix the south.' So they went on to fix the coulies and springs and rivers and timber and everything, and the bad lands; Coyote he made the mountains, the narrow places and more bad lands and more springs and more coulies and every-

773 539 thing so the Indians could get their arrows, and short distance for shooting, and Lone Man he makes the north, makes so many lakes, there is no timber, a flat country, nothing but a prairie, and he couldn't be seen anywheres for long distances, and no guiding place and no nothing; and he made some springs in the country, and made timber up away back, and when he makes it timber he makes a big body of timber, and then he goes along the prairie again for miles and miles and makes timber the same way. Then he makes game, buffalo all colors, like tame cattle, with white horns. Then the Coyote he made these buffalos; and after they got through they counted the head (or meat); and he says, the first thing he asked—Coyote asked of the Lone Man 'What kind of buffalo you make?' he says 'I make some gray, some white, some red and black and white horns, and all colors and long tails.' Coyote says 'You make them long, what buffalo I make it is the kind of buffalo you won't make.' So Coyote says 'I made only one white buffalo, makes them once in a while. they'll be pretty hard to get,' so it would be of more value to the Indians for their robe. So he says—Lone Man says 'All right, I'll drive back what I made into the sea. and some of these days when the rule comes to an end when our buffalo are all gone, what I make people will live on it forever.' So this Lone Man afterwards, after he got through he knew the Mandans was in the Middle Hole and he knew those on the other side of the sea, and he knew those on this side of the mouth of the river that empties into the sea; and then he looked all over the tribes and he thought that the Mandans were the quietest and best characters, and he joined in with them and staid with them. So he advised everything that is good."

The Holy Man. "He was the Holy Man, sent on with the Holy Spirit, and a man, something like the whites that believe in Christ. he was a good character, and he didn't have anything to do with women or no wife of any kind; so the other Coyote and Rees—he makes a good country and good things, but on the other hand he was not as good as Lone Man; so they didn't take his advice but they took Lone Man's advice. He has a pipe, they got his pipe today, and they got his lance block, and they believe in him. So the Mandans they lived on Heart river. That name is by reason that right there where the Mandans is they called the river the Heart river, that is in the middle, from where you go from there to the south to the sea, and east the same distance, and north and west the same distance—right in the middle there, and so they called it the Heart."

The Middle Hole. "The first man (named above as being on the water), his ancestors came from the mouth of the river, and my ancestors and all other Mandans came from the Middle Hole."

Went to Winnipeg. "My father was Hit-him-in-the-Back; I was born in Ft. Berthold; am forty years old. My father was born in the Five Villages away down the river. The Five Villages was about ninety years ago. They lived there right after the smallpox was there. The villages down the Missouri river through South Dakota and to the Mississippi, that had ditches around them, were Mandan villages. The Rees have villages down here this side (north) of the Cheyenne river, just about there. They had five villages too. I don't know how far south of the Cheyenne they had villages. The Mandans grow as a people, and there are so many people and each one has a head man and chief; and they have taken their places all over, and one of the villages has gone at that time to the north ~~to~~ Winnipeg, and during that time one of the villages has gone again—one of the villages which the chief controls has gone; and the chief is called Tattooed Face and he has great control over the people and the largest village; and no one could tell where he went to those people. So this Winnipeg went over there, and five brothers, four of them goes in this spirit in the buffalo bulls—they were buffalo, and the youngest brother, the fifth one was a magpie, and their mother was Corn. So they went away to the north here where the Winnipegs were, and in the large timber there. they had their village there. They started from her, this side of Bismarck; and so Magpie goes out and roams around the country, and he comes back, and all his brothers were sitting and eating and laughing and enjoying themselves and plenty to eat and everything, and he sat down and he says 'My brothers, there's hard times coming;' so the August Buffalo Bull and the Fall Bull and the March Bull and the June Bull—so the August Bull said 'There's no hard times here' before he asked any questions—each one of the chiefs represents three months—so he says 'I call any of the buffalo, at the call buffalo they come in all the houses here, the children

773 have plenty to eat, when the fall comes the Fall Chief calls the buffalo, and when winter comes the Winter Bull calls them,' etc.
539 He says 'Our mother Corn Woman will plant corn on the rocks and it will grow anywheres;' so the boy Magpie he showed up. Then Magpie he has power too, he says 'I want to move to the Missouri river, I don't want to stay here in the north.' Then he got the old crier out to say that those men were going to move and that these people must go; so he brings back about half of the people—half of a village. Then he came over here to Bird's Bill at Fort Rice. And then it came to the winter, and then the buffalos and the north wind laps them, blow and storm, and they are starving; and they sent Jack Rabbit over there to Magpie's village to see how he was getting along, and they gave him two sunflower seed, so he had some of them take it back. 'They aint starving,' he said, 'They are all right;' and they took their buffalo robes and painted it right and left to hang up, so it looks like flesh, and they were kind of starving too, so he deceived them; all these buffalo robes kept all the buffalos away from him, so he deceived him. So Jack Rabbit told them 'You had better burn up the old wooden pans, etc., and call Lone Man, you are in hard shape.' So he did hallo for Lone Man, and Lone Man didn't come but sent Chinook Wind and drove all the cold away, and it kept going to the north and they are all right. So about one year from that time a flood came there and wiped out all of the houses on the north to Winnipeg, and there was a great big lodge of four of the Bulls—his brother on top of the lodge—and he came in there and says 'You said there was no hard time,' the one that spoke before he spoke first again, he says 'Why, you must have your heart just like a bone, you never told us this,' and Magpie says 'I tried to tell you about the hard times but you never gave me any show, no person could explain it to you, all you depend on you call buffalo, you don't look to other things.' 'Where's my mother?' he says. 'Your mother is right down straight here in the ground, she can't come, but she will if you want her.' And she says 'My son, are you here?' 'Yes, mother, but wait a while till I call you.' Then he went to work and pulled the bull's hair up on the top of his head to make a string to tie them like a loup, and when he got through—'Now,' he says 'I am ready, now you come, mother.' And she came up on

the ear of yellow corn, she shot up like that—"(indicating)," and he got hold of her and put that string loup around her. When he comes up he got her around the neck and hung it down cross-ways, and they started to swim to the river. They had an awful long swim and got overe here back half way to Winnipeg, and he drowned first, and the August Bull drowned and the Winter Bull he drowned, two of them. The second Bull says 'There will be plenty of buffalo here when I am gone.' So the Fall Buffalo drowned, the third. And the Spring Buffalo he landed in Bird's Bill, he was the strongest and saved his mother that he was carrying on his neck—and she was turned to be an ear of corn.

"My grandfather was Yellow Tail. He was born on the Heart river I suppose. My grandfather, they knew him in the Five Villages when he was a real old man.

"This story that I tell you came from my father and grandfather and the old people of my tribe. I am a full-blooded Mandan."

Below is the account of the Mandans given by Bear's Ghost:

Bear's Ghost's Narrative. "I am a full blooded Mandan. Age 47; born this side of Knife river, what they call Manhanen, on the Point. The village is there. My father was Foolish Chief. My grandfather's name was Ghost Heart. My father was born at the Five Villages, my grandfather was born at the same place.

"There is two ways that we came from the Mandan. It would take about four days to tell it all." (Here we indicated to the interpreter—after being told that the writer could not remain so many days—that he would narrate the main part of the tradition, etc.)

"Where the Mandans came from, there's two ways, and the generals talk and talk about it all the time. Those Mandans here, there is Rushing Eagle, Standing Bear, all the three lodges once here; they could tell the story. We are younger men and we don't know, but we hear them talk about it. I will tell you the best I can. The man that walks on the water, he always wants to remember where he came from. There was no earth, it was all water in this country when he walked on it. He went back, and they called the weeds Big Medicine, and the leaves were about so big (indicating); and he followed the trail back to the weeds called Big Medicine. So the leaves were about so big (indicat-

773 539 ing); and the flood came out of one of the leaves, on the edge of the stalk where the joints come to, and he thought 'This is my mother.' This weed says 'Yes, I am your mother, I sent you out and I want you to do something, make up your mind to have to do something.' This man was going around on top of the water, he was naked, he went on top of the water, and he walked along, and finally he run across a track, and he went on, and the other fellow—he didn't know who he was at this time—he crossed his track and hunted around for a time three or four times, and they came across one another's tracks, and finally they met one another; and he told him—Lone Man told the other fellow, where he arrived from and where he started. The other fellow says 'I don't know where I come from but I walked along this way,' and the other fellow his hair was kind of kinky, and he was short and heavy joints and muscles were quite large on him, and the other fellow was kind of small and his body was nice built and his nose was small and his hair was kinky, and he had yellow eyes—he was Man Chief. So they walked along together and they come onto two divers, ducks, and asked them 'What are you doing here?' 'We don't know where we came from. we're here'—no other birds but them. So they asked them 'What are you eating, how far do you go down there?' 'We go down to the bottom of the mud in the water, pretty hard.' He says 'Go down there and bring me some earth.' They dived down there and didn't come up for some time, and after a while they came back without it, and took a rest. They go down again and bring some up; and they hold their hands, each one on their right hand—hold their right hand out and the ducks put the mud in there. So they dried it and grind it. And they go and they named it west and north and east and south. And so he told them—Man Chief told Lone Man to go to work and make the land on the east and north side, and I'll make the south side. and we will make this river—this Missouri river. So they went on and worked on them quite a while, and they made everything come together again. And Lone Man, what earth he got he ground it so fine, make the country more prairie. and the other fellow didn't grind it so fine and makes more bad lands. They went to work, and they come together, and Man Chief asked Lone Man what kind of buffalo he made, he told him he made spotted

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773
539

ones and all kinds, and he made the same, and he (meaning, probably, Lone Man) says 'You done wrong making those kind of buffalos;' and they had a dispute. He says 'I made the game so you could kill them or catch them,' he says 'You make the game, you can't catch them soon enough, they are pretty wild, some of these days your buffalo will be gone and mine will walk around amongst the people.' He told him he made the moose and all that kind of game, white bear and all kinds in the north; and birds blue and red and yellow and all color, east. Then the other fellow he made the eagles and hawks and the other kind of birds around west and south. That is the way they did. So they make the people, and they come into the Mandans, and started on the Mandans, the first language they made was the Mandan language, he made it himself."

First Men Meet at the Sea. "In the mouth of the sea, where this river empties into the sea, right below, there is where the two men met each other, and he make the earth. Then when they got through Lone Man staid with them, he staid right there; and the people moved to the west and he moved along with them—Lone Man did. Then down in the south here the Corn Man came up from under the earth and followed the vine up, and he killed the game and took the sinews and paunch and some other things, the fat, and took it down there, and he says 'What a fine country, and here's plenty to eat,' and so on; and they started to moving and coming up the vine, they caught hold of the vine and came from under the earth up, and about half way over, and this large woman came, and they all told her not to go, not to start. 'No,' she says, 'I'll go,' and she started up, and she broke the vine, and under the earth down there they cried; and they quit and halloed up and says to the people that was up (half of them were up)—they says 'You can go, it is all right.' Some of the grandfathers or mothers or fathers were down in the earth and some of them were up. So they traveled towards the Missouri, and this Lone Man traveled up to the west side of the river, and they met the Mandans and the other Mandans, and they came together.

"It is just the same as we—they started to meet her—this Corn Woman, and she married one of the Bulls, he took her over there to Winnipeg and started a village there; and this woman—and they had five children, the Fall Bull, Winter Bull, Spring Bull, and Summer Bull, and Magpie." (The rest of his story on this head is, as the interpreter states, the same as that of Little Owl.)

"The people that came from below the earth and followed the vine met the tobacco—(here a sample of the upper Missouri tobacco is shown). The Magpie went over to where they were—the four Bulls sat up on top of the lodge, etc. (continuance of the story of the other Indian, Little Owl). They had a long swim, and one died over at Mouse river by Minot, and the other was half way down the Missouri and the fellow came down to Coal Harbor (in McLean Co., N. D.) and died, and the other fellow swam down to Bird's Bill (Fort Rice) and died."

Four Bull and the Flood. "You whites have a flood. This flood where the four Bulls swam down is the same flood. There was a general that they kept an account of the years until—they kept it at the time of the smallpox, I can't explain very well, but the villages down the river, but Lone Man says 'You must not go to some other country, follow this river all the time;' and the time that those corn people all came up under the earth to meet the Lone Man people, that is the time they plant corn, squash, tobacco, beans, etc., and they have been raising it ever since. And now our seeds are going amongst the whites and amongst the Sioux, and everywhere our seed is growing.

"I want you to put this down just as I tell it; and you people knew God and His making the world. Maybe it is the same, but we have seen, our people have seen with their naked eyes that they made the world too. We have the same flood, only we couldn't keep the date, we lost the track.

"I was three years old when I left the village to come up to Berthold." (Meaning when he came to the old Confederated Village.)

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

THE CLAIMS OF WELSH, OR MADOCIAN DISCOVERY OF AMERICA AND WERE THE MANDANS OF WELSH ORIGIN?

000

In this concluding phase of our treatment of the Mandans, the question indicated by the above headings assumes, in the judgment of the writer, a relevancy and an importance which warrant, if they do not demand, a descent to the proofs and some expression of views, if not of conclusions, based thereon; which warrant seems to be justified by a pre-consideration of the evidences within reach and which have been considered by the writer with a view to an attempt to determine whether their publication in this paper would be sufficiently germane to the subject of the Mandans to bring the latter, to use the lawyer's phrase, within "the case made" by those evidences. It is of course left for the reader and student to determine for himself how far the mass of narrative, discussion, and discrimination found in the voluminous extracts hereinafter set forth serve to establish that Prince Madoc, in A. D. 1170 or very soon thereafter, reached the shores of America and, with one or two, or all, if there were three of his expeditions, found a lodgment there, and if so, how far the Welsh mariners and colonists thus headed by him became amalgamated with the native Americans, and where, on this continent, or in Central America, or South America, they settled and evolved generations of descendants; and lastly, if they did so anywhere in those confines, whether the Mandans were part of that development. The subject itself is nothing less than profound, and we may perhaps add without probable violence to the truth profoundly mysterious.

But having come to the conclusion that we can, by exhibiting the evidences at hand, justify the use of the space needed for that purpose in this paper, either as a means to an end of ethnology at large, or as pertinent to the pursuit of the origin of the Mandan Indians, or for both purposes, we shall proceed to bring forward the array of matter in hand, asking the indulgence of the public by way of excuse for the informal and all inadequate presentation of those materials in point of form and orderly treatment.

P 651

600 No attempt will be made to comment upon, criticise or otherwise deal in detail with the various narratives or with the views of the respective writers and informants who originally published or caused them to be published in the first instance—in the process of bringing them into this monograph. We may have occasion to indulge in some observations and expressions of views thereon after such presentation of material is made.

Before proceeding to present the evidential materials above referred to, however, we will refer briefly to some phases of the history of Wales immediately preceding the initial voyage of Madoc, in order to make clearer the internal troubles among the Welsh princes, and between them at large and the British government at that time; the immediate purpose being to show the motives which impelled Madoc to leave his native land, and why he, according to the chronicles, did so finally **with the intention of never again returning thereto.**

Welsh History in Madoc's Time. Henry II of England, having been carrying on military campaigns in Normandy in 1163, invaded South Wales where Rhys ap Gryffydd, one of the princes, still held out against him, the others having been already reduced; and after succeeding in overpowering that prince, the latter and the other princes and chieftans in Wales did homage to King Henry and his son. But in 1164 Rhys again revolted because of the outrages, weaknesses and partialities of the English king, and "having recovered the ancient demesnes of his family," he succeeded in reducing the province of Caerdigan and in making further incursions into the enemy's territory; all of which inspired a spirit of revolt among the other Welsh princes, which was assiduously fanned by their leader, he pointing out to them the prospects of asserting their freedom 'from the dissensions which had arisen in England between Henry and the Archbishop of Canterbury' and from the supposed probability of a war between England and France; in view of which prospects the Prince of North Wales, Owen Gwynedd, his sons and brother Cadwalader and others joined Rhys.

These circumstances we gather from the narrative of Rev. William Warrington in his "History of Wales" (Brecon: Printed and sold by W. Williams; 1823).

Says Warrington (p. 489): "At no period, had the Welsh nation united into a confederacy like this; concentrating with so much energy and force, the various policies and interests, the different tempers and abilities of the Princes of Wales." David, the son of Owen Gwynedd, devastated Flintshire; but the Welsh forces were driven back by Henry, and after reinforcing his armies from France and elsewhere he marched into Powys, the chieftains of which were 'the usual adherents of his family;' but notwithstanding the formidable array of forces thus presented the Welsh princes, 'determined to rescue their country from a foreign domination, or to perish in the attempt, remained firm and intrepid.' Warrington thus states the various forces arrayed under the standard of the Welsh princes at this time:

Confederation of Welsh Princes. "The power of North Wales was collected under the command of Owen Gwynedd and his brother Cadwalader; the forces of South Wales were led by the gallant Rhys ap Gryffydd; those of Powys by Owen Cyveilioc and the sons of Madoc ap Meredydd. With these troops were joined the inhabitants of the country situated between the Wye and the Severn, under the leading of their chieftains, the two sons of Madoc ap Ednerth." (p. 492.)

English Reverses—Welsh Dissensions. "Henry, after a spirited contest, crossed the Cierniog river, and the two armies faced each other on the mountains of Berwyn; and being cut off from provisions and harried by the elements Henry was obliged to retire. His spirit was so wounded by this reverse that he cruelly put out the eyes of his hostages, among whom were the sons of several leading Welsh princes. Henry then prepared to attack the Welsh by sea, but after assembling his armaments he suddenly dismissed 'both his fleet and his army,' presumably because he feared attacks upon his foreign dominions. The Welshmen thereupon attacked several strongholds of the enemy, some of which were demolished. Here, instead of standing together against England, the Welsh princes began a series of incursions against some of their own chieftains, much distress and devastation ensuing. Warrington says: 'A spirit of dissension, inherent in their genius, contracting their views, and governing their conduct, precluded any system of general policy.' However, these acts were followed by more united action during which several strongholds on the English frontier were taken and demolished, 600 giving 'Owen Gwynedd the entire possession of the maratime of Flintshire.' But says Warrington:"

Welsh Embassy to France. "A concern of greater importance than the revolt of the Welsh, had of late employed the attention of Henry. He was at this time in Normandy, engaged in war with Lewis, King of France. The confederate Welsh princes, desirous of entangling the English monarch more deeply in foreign disputes, sent, in conjunction with William the Lion, King of Scotland, ambassadors to the French court, with an offer of aid to carry on the war against Henry. It does not appear that this proposal was accepted; though it was the first attempt we have seen of the kind, which marked the growing importance of the Welsh princes; and the influence of which, they were desirous of extending to the continent." (p. 500-501.))

Then came the event which precipitated the Welsh princes into deadly struggles and unnatural butcheries over the vital issue of the succession to the throne of North Wales. We again quote Warrington:

Welsh Succession—North Wales. "The rising prosperity of the Welsh was checked, on a sudden, by the death of Owen Gwynedd, the Prince of North Wales. He reigned thirty-two years, and was buried in the cathedral church of Bangor. This prince married, for his first wife, Gwladys, daughter to Llywarch ap Trahaearn lord of Pembroke, by whom he had only Iorwerth Drwynewn, or Edward of the broken nose; by his second wife Christian, daughter of Gronw the son of Owen ap Edwin lord of Englefield, he had David, Roderic lord of Anglesey, Cadwallon was abbott of Bardsey, and Angharad married to Gryffydd Maelor. He had likewise twelve other children by different women." (Note to Warrington): "Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 3. According to the Welsh Chron. p. 226, this prince had by his first wife, besides his eldest son, Iorwerth; Cynan, Maelgon, and Gwenllian; and by different women, Cynan, Meredydd, Rhun, Llewalyn, Edwal, Howel, Cadell, Madoc, Einion, Cynwric, Philip, Ririd." Southey, in his famed poem on Madoc, refers to many of these descendants of Owen Gwynedd. (pp. 501-502.)

Warring Contestants—David Gwynedd Succeeds. "So whimsical and indecisive was the mode of succession, that as many sons of the late prince laid claim to the crown, as were under the influence of ambition, or of a fiery and turbulent spirit. Iorwerth 500 his eldest son, was unanimously set aside on account of a blemish which he had in his face; and he appears to have resigned himself quietly to the public judgment. Howel, a natural son of the late prince, born of an Irish woman, being the first who started for the prize, gained for a time a precarious possession of the throne. David, the eldest son of Owen Gwynedd by his second wife, regarded his own right, in this contest, as indisputable; and disdaining to hold under the sovereignty of a brother, illegitimate and born of a foreign woman, raised an army, fought a battle with his rival, and slew him in the action. By this victory. David obtained the quiet possession of the throne of North Wales." (p. 502-505.)

Warrington then recounts the substance of the relation in the Welsh Chronicles of Prince Madoc's voyage to "the coast of America," the notes subjoined to which indicate the sources of the account in the Welsh Bards of the fifteenth century, as follows:

Madoc's Voyage to America. "Madoc, another son of the late prince, seeing the contention which agitated the fiery spirits of his brothers, with a courage equal to theirs, but far more liberally directed, gave himself up to the danger and uncertainty of seas, which had been hitherto unexplored. He is said to have embarked with a few ships; sailing to the west, and leaving Ireland to the north, he traversed the ocean, until he arrived by accident upon the coast of America. Pleased with its appearance, he left in that country a great part of his people; and returning for a fresh supply, was joined by many adventurers, both men and women; who encouraged by flattering descriptions of advantage, and sick of the disorders which reigned in their native kingdom,* were desirous of seeking an asylum in the wilds of America." (Humphrey Lhuyd. Welsh Chron. p. 228.)

"It seems, as if the death of the late Prince of North Wales, had suddenly dissolved the confederacy, and as if the motives for union no longer subsisted. Rhys ap Gryffydd, having lately reduced that part of Powys, which had been the territory of Owen Cyveilioc, gave King Henry the meeting; while he pursued his journey into Ireland. At this conference, he was received into the king's peace, and was confirmed in all the possessions, which he, at that time enjoyed; and in consideration of which, he offered that monarch a considerable supply of oxen and horses towards the conquest he was meditating; and as a further pledge of his future fidelity, offered him likewise fourteen hostages." (p. 505-506.)

*(Warrington's note.) "We know nothing of the reality of this discovery, but what is gathered from the poems of Meredydd ap Rhys who flourished in the year 1470; of Gutwin Owen in 1480; and Cynfrig ap Gronw near the same period. These bards preceded the expedition of Columbus; and relate or allude to that of Madoc, as an event well known, and universally received, to have happened three hundred years before. See Jones' Musical Relics of the Welsh bards, p. 19.

"The supposed existence of Welsh Indians in America has, for many years, elicited much discussion; and various but ineffectual attempts have been made to discover them. A very intelligent gentleman informed me at New York, in the year 1819, that he corresponded on the subject with Mr. Evan Evans, who is well known to have gone over to America in search of them, and to have traversed that continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. His enterprising endeavors, however, were unavailing; he could find no trace whatever of any such people. Captains Lewis and Clarke, were strictly directed, by the American government, to similar inquiries, but they were equally unsuccessful. W. Williams."

The single chapter of those harrowing times in Wales which seems to constitute a temporary cessation of hostilities between the English king and the Welsh princes after the events just narrated occurred, is found in what is next hereinafter cited from Warrington, (and with which we conclude the process of quotations from his text); only to be followed by a resumption of the policy of cruelty and perfidy which seems to have characterized at least a considerable period in Henry's reign; and by ever recurring internal contests between the Welshmen themselves. The whole picture is one which portrays in colors too plain to be mistaken the lamentable condition into which the savage hostilities, the ambitions and vascillations of lords, princes and king had brought the land of Cambria. The seductive policy by which

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

Henry temporarily pacified the principal Welsh princes is seen below:

King Henry ejected Iorwerth, a lord in South Wales, who recovered in part his possessions; in Pembroke he extended the territory of Rhys, and delivered up to that prince his son, Howell, who had been held a hostage, and otherwise exercised his clemency. Says Warrington:

"The patriotism of the Welsh prince sunk under the influence of these mutual civilities. The gallant and independent spirit inherited from a long line of ancestors, and which had so eminently distinguished his own conduct; all that the terror of Henry's arms and a series of hostilities could not shake, was done away by a few acts of a well directed courtesy. Forsaking the dignity and importance of his character, except in a single instance, we shall see him in future only as a satrap to the English monarch. Mingling in the common mass, and losing forever the ancient honors of his family, neither this prince nor his descendants, from this period will retain any marks of sovereignty." Page 509. (Note by Warrington: From this period the heads of this family were only distinguished by the titles of Arglwyddi, or lords. Humphrey Llwyd's Brev. p. 73.)

Having presented the foregoing phases of Welsh history, we now bring forward the evidences, so far as gathered, bearing upon the Madocian theory and the reputed Welsh or White Indians in America, involving the Mandans, Pawnees, etc.

The most comprehensive, and perhaps the most important contribution to the literature involving the claims of a Welsh discovery of America, with which we have come in contact, is embraced in the somewhat celebrated work by John Williams, LLD., entitled, "An Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition, Concerning the Discovery of America, by Prince Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd, About the Year, 1170." (London. Printed by J. Brown, 1791.)

In that production the author brings in substantially full and complete quotations from many of the most prominent and convincing narratives, expressed views, and deductions taken from the great body of literature extant upon this intensely interesting and fateful theme. We are obliged, for want of space, to condense his text into summary form, presenting but few extended quotations. The material in question follows:

000 **John Williams, on Welsh Discovery of America.** "The first account that I can find of the discovery of America by the Britons is in a History of Wales, written by Caradoc of Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, in the British language, translated into English by Humphrey Llwyd, and published by Dr. David Powel, in the year 1584. It was reprinted in 1697, under the inspection of W. Wynne, A. M. Fellow, of Jesus College, Oxford. There was another edition lately published."

Madog. "This narrative bears the strongest semblance of truth, for it is plain, natural, and simple. It says, that on the death of Owen Gwyneed, prince of North Wales, about the year 1169, several of his children contended for his dominions; that Madog, one of his sons, perceiving his native country engaged, or on the eve of being engaged, in a civil war, thought it best to try his fortune in some foreign climes. Leaving North Wales in a very unsettled state, he sailed with a few ships which he had fitted up and manned for that purpose to the westward, leaving Ireland to the north. He came at length to an unknown country where most things appeared to him new and uncustomary, and the manners of the natives far different from what he had seen in Europe. Madog having viewed the fertility and pleasantness of the country, left the most part of those he had taken with him behind, (**Sir Thomas Herbert** says that the number he left behind was 120) and returned to North Wales. Upon his arrival he described to his friends what a fair and extensive land he had met with, void of any inhabitants, whilst they employed themselves, and all their skill to supplant one another, for only a ragged portion of rocks and mountains. Accordingly, having prevailed with considerable numbers to accompany him to that country, he sailed back with ten ships and bid adieu to his native land. (pp. 6-7.)

"It is very certain that this account of Madog's emigration was not written by Caradoc, for his history comes no lower than the year 1157; and he seems to have died about the time when this event took place. However, it is said by Humphrey Llwyd, the translator of Caradoc into English, that this part of the history was compiled from collections made from time to time, and kept in the Abbies of Conway in Carnarvonshire, North Wales, and Strat Flur, (Strata Florida, Cardiganshire, South Wales). The most remarkable occurrences in the principality, being registered in these Abbies, were generally compared together every third year, when the Beirdd of Bards, belonging to these two Houses, went their ordinary visitations, which were called Clera. This custom prevailed 'till the year 1270, a little before the death of Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales, and who was killed near Built in Brecknockshire."

The Welsh Bards. "The best copy of these registers was taken by Guttun Owen, a Bard, in the reign of Edward the Fourth. King of England, about the year 1480, before the first voyage of Columbus, but that the continuation, though not Caradoc's, is a true history, we have no just reason to question.

"Cynfrig ab Gronow, about the same time with Guttun Owen, mentioned this event. These Bards lived between two and three hundred years after Madog's emigration; and before them it is alluded to by Sir Meredyth ab Rhy's about the year 1477. Humphry Llwyd, the translator of Caradoc, flourished in the reign of Henry the Eighth, King of England, about fifty or sixty years after Guttun Owen, and Dr. Powel published Llwyd's translation, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about forty years after the death of Humphry Llwyd, whose death prevented its earlier publication.

"There can be little doubt, but that the writings of Guttun Owen, Cynfrig ab Gronow, and of Sir Meredyth ab Rhys, were extant in the days of Llwyd and Powel, and known to many persons who lived in the principality, as Powel did."

Hakluyt. "The next account I have met with of this event is in Hakluyt.

"After the death of Owen Gwynedd, his Sonnes fell at debate who should inherit after him, for the eldest Sonne born in matrimony, Edward, or Jorwerth Drwidion (Drwyndwn) was counted unmeet to govern because of the maime upon his face, and Howel that took upon him the rule, was a base Sonne, begotten upon an Irish woman. Therefore David, another Sonne, gathered all the power he could, and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him, and afterwards enjoyed quietly the whole land of North Wales, until his brother, Jorwerth's Sonne, came of age.

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth's Sonnes, left the land in contentions betwixt his brethern, and prepared certain ships with men and ammunition and sought adventures by seas, sailing west and leaving the coast of Ireland so farre north, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things.

"This land must needs be some parts of the countrey of which the Spanyards affirm themselves to be the first finders since Hauno's time, whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Britons discovered long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

"Of the voyage and return of this Madoc, there be many fables framed, as the common people do use in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than to diminish, but sure it is, there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitful countries that he had seen, without inhabitants; and upon the contrary for what barren and wild ground his brethern and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietness, and taking leave of his friends, took his journey thitherwards again.

"Therefore, it is supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countries; for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gormara that in Acuzamil, and other places, the people honored the Crofs. Whereby it may be gathered that Christians had been there before the coming of the Spanyards; but because this people were not many, they followed the manner of the land which they came to, and the language they found there.

"This Madoc arriving in that Western Countrey, unto the which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends to inhabit that fair and large countrye, went thither again with ten sailes, as I find noted by Guttun Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the West Indies." (p. 12.) ***

Britons in America. "Another writer who alludes to Madog's voyage is the author of a book entitled 'A Brief Description of the Whole World.' Edit. 5th. London printed, for John Marriott, 1620."

Williams refers to Hornius in his "De Originibus Americanis. Hagae Comitas, 1652," as presenting Madoc's adventures, as containing little more than "extracts from Llwyd, Hakluyt, and

Powel;" quotes Hornius as believing that Madoc "must have landed" on the American continent. 000

Hornius Adds. "The traditions prevailing among the natives strongly confirm me in this opinion; for the Virginians and Guahutemallians, from ancient times, worshipped one Madog as an hero."

Tuscoraras. Welsh? Williams refers to a narrative of Morgan Jones, of Newport, County of Monmouth, published in 1740 in Gentleman's Magazine, from Morgan's letter of 1685, "sent to Dr. Thomas Lloyd of Pennsylvania" and by him sent to Charles Llwyd, Esq., of Doly fran in Montgomeryshire, thence to Dr. Robert Plott by Edward Lloyd, A. M. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, in which Morgan declares that as chaplain to Maj. Gen. Bennet, he went from Virginia in 1660 in a ship to Port Royal, S. C., where they waited for a time, he sailing up the river to Oyster Point, where they remained months until nearly starved, when he "and five more traveled through the wilderness to the Tuscorara country," were taken prisoners "because we told them we were bound to Roanoke;" were shut up at night; a consultation resulted in their being told next day by the interpreter that they must prepare to die. "Whereupon being very much dejected and speaking to this effect in the British tongue, 'Have I escaped so many dangers, and must I now be knocked on the head like a dog'; then presently an Indian came to me, which afterwards appeared to be a war captain belonging to the Sachem of the Doegs, (whose Original I find must be from the Old Britons) and took me up by the middle, and told me in the British tongue, I should not die, and thereupon went to the Emperor of the Tuscaroras, and agreed for my ransom, and the men that were with me;" were entertained very civilly four months "during which time I had the opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the British language, and did preach to them three times a week in the same language; and they would confer with me about any thing that was difficult therein;" supplied them with provisions on their departure, etc. Williams adds that Theophilus Evans, a Welsh clergyman, who communicated the Jones letter to Gentleman's Magazine and who was well acquainted with the history of the principality" of St. David's in Brecon, observes that circumstances establish the fact of Madoc's voyage.

000 **Welsh Words Among Indians.** "That several British words were used by the Mexicans when their country was discovered by the Spaniards; such as Pangwyn, 'White Head,' the name, not only of a bird, but also given to high and bare rocks. Groeso, 'wellcome.' Gwenddwr, 'white or limpid water.' Bara, 'bread. Tad, 'father.' Mam, 'mother.' Buch of buwch, 'cow.' Clug-Jar, 'a partridge, or heath cock.' (Clugar is now the American name of a partridge.) Llwynog, 'a fox.' Coch y dwr, 'a red water bird.' Many others are mentioned by sir **Thomas Herbert** in his travels." Williams observes concerning Madoc's having remained undiscovered:

Madoc Undiscovered, Why? "That so extraordinary an event should not excite either the English or the Welsh to attempt a discovery of their hardy countrymen, and their new settlement, can only be accounted for by the ignorance and poverty of the times. It is most natural to suppose that the English knew nothing of this expedition from a province which acknowledged not their authority, and with which they were almost continually at war, and whose inhabitants they would have been exceedingly glad to hear were all gone away; and the poverty of the Welsh, robbed of their inheritance by the usurping Saxons, Normans and Flemings, would effectually prevent their making any attempts." Williams then refers to Lloyd's letter:

Lloyd's Letter. "A letter written by Charles Lloyd, Esq., of Dol Y Fran, in Montgomeryshire, already mentioned, published in 1777, by the Revd. N. Owen, Junr. A. M. in a pamphlet entitled, 'British Remains,' strongly confirms Mr. Jones' narrative, and of consequence, the truth of Madog's voyages. Mr. Lloyd says * * that he had been informed by a friend, that one Stedman of Breconshire, about thirty years before the date of his letter, was on the coast of America in a Dutch Bottom, and being about to land for refreshment, the natives kept them off by force, till at last this Stedman told his fellow Dutch seamen that he understood what the natives spoke. The Dutch bade him speak to them, and they were thereupon very courteous; they supplied them with the best things they had, and told Stedman, that they came from a country called Gwynedd, (North Wales) in Prydam, (Prydain) fawr, Great Britain. It is supposed by Mr. Lloyd that this place was situated between Virginia and Florida. It is further said by this gentleman, that one Oliver Humphreys, a merchant, who died, not long before the date of this letter, told him, that when he lived at Surinam, he spoke with an English privateer or pirate, who being near Florida a careening his vessel, had learnt, as he thought the Indian language, which his friend said was perfect Welsh." Williams proceeds:

"To these evidences (the foregoing and same we have omitted), must be added what the authors of the universal history, and Dr. Campbell, in his Naval History of Great Britain, have said."

Powell's Version. "That the Welsh contributed towards the peopling of America is intimated by some good authors, and ought to be considered as a notion supported by something more than bare conjectures."

The Welsh "LL." "In the British tongue, the double L (LL) hath a peculiar sound, different from any in other tongues. It hath been said that in the Spanish it has the same sound. But a gentleman who understands the Spanish language informed me that it is not like the Welsh double LL, though it hath a peculiar sound." Williams proceeds:

"**Dr. Campbell** ** agreed with the above writers, (Hakluyt, Martyr, etc.) in his general account, and concludes with these observations:"

Madoc Tradition Before Columbus. "It must be confessed that there is nothing which absolutely fixes this discovery of America, though it must likewise be owned that the course before set down might very possibly carry him thither. The great point is to know how far the fact may be depended upon, and in relation to this, I will venture to assert that there are **Authentic Records,** in the British tongue, as to this expedition of Madog's wherever he went, prior to the discovery of America by Columbus, and that many probable arguments may be offered in support of this notion."

"I now proceed (continues Williams) to modern travelers, who prove, that at present, there are tribes in North America descended from the ancient Britons."

American Indians Descendants of Welsh. "Mr. Charles Beatty, a missionary from New York, accompanied by a Mr. Duffield, visited some inland parts of North America in the year 1766. If I rightly understand the journal, he traveled about 400 or 500 miles, to the southwest of New York. During his tour he met with several persons who had been among the Indians from their youth, or who had been taken captives by them, and lived with them several years. Among others, one Benjamin Sutton, who had visited different nations, and had lived many years with them. His account, in Mr. Beatty's words, was as follows:"

Welsh Bible. "He, (Benjamin Sutton) informed us, when he was with the Chactaw nation, or tribes of Indians at the Mississippi, he went to an Indian town a very considerable distance from New Orleans, whose inhabitants were of different complexions; not so tawny as those of the other Indians, and who spoke Welsh. He said he saw a book among them, which he supposed was a Welsh Bible, which they carefully kept wrapped up in a skin, but they could not read it; and that he heard some of these Indians afterwards in the lower Shawanaugh town speak Welsh with one Lewis, a Welshman, captive there. This Welsh tribe now live on the west side of the Mississippi river, a great way above New Orleans.

"Levi Hicks, as being among the Indians from his youth, told us he had been, when attending an embassy in a town of Indians, on the west side of the Mississippi river, who talked Welsh, (as he was told, for he did not understand them) and our interpreter, Joseph, saw some Indians whom he supposed to be of the same tribe, who talked Welsh, for he told us some of the words they said, which he knew to be Welsh, as he had been acquainted with some Welsh people."

Sutton-Stewart Accounts.. Parchment. Williams further quotes Sutton concerning the Delawares, "that from some old men among them he had heard that of old time their people were divided by a river, and one party tarrying behind; that they knew not for certainty how they first came to this continent, but account thus for their coming into these parts near where they are now." That a king of their nation left his kingdom to two sons, that one of them, being warred upon, sought a new habitation, and at length came with some of his people to the Delaware. Williams also quotes Capt. Stewart's account from the "Public Advertiser" of Oct. 8, 1785—who was imprisoned by Indians about 1764 west of Fort Pitt and taken to the Wabash "with many more white men who were executed with circumstances of

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

horrid barbarity," he himself having by good fortune enlisted the sympathy of "what is called the Good Woman of the town, who was permitted to redeem me from the flames by giving as my ransom a horse;" being in bondage for two years, Stewart was redeemed (with one David) by a Frenchman visiting from Mexico "on discoveries;" went with the Frenchman 700 miles west of the Mississippi up Red river, finding "a nation of Indians remarkably white, and whose hair was of a reddish color, at least, mostly so; John Davey (David), the redeemed Welshman with them "informed me that he was determined to remain with them, that he understood their language, it being very little different from the Welsh; Stewart went with David "to the chief men of the town, who informed him (in language that I had no knowledge of, and which had no affinity to that of other Indian tongues that I ever heard), that their forefathers of this nation came from a foreign country, and landed on the east side of the Mississippi, describing particularly the country now called Florida, and that on the Spaniards taking possession of Mexico they fled to their then abode. And as proof of the truth of what he advanced, he brought forth rolls of parchment, which were carefully tied up in otters' skins, on which were large characters written with blue ink. The characters I did not understand, and the Welshman being unacquainted with letters, even, of his own language, I was not able to know the meaning of the writing."

Three Welsh Tribes. Williams observes that these informants, being uninterested "in propagating such a report among persons who were not Welsh," are entitled to confidence, etc.; and he concludes that these proofs seem to show three Welsh tribes, viz.: Tuscoraras south of Lake Erie between the Ohio and Mississippi; Delawares, "whom I take to be the same as with the Doegs, lower down the Ohio, and Delaware rivers;" "the other tribe west of the Mississippi." He contends also that the language used by the Indians in question was Welsh, and that the books referred to were Welsh Bibles, having been found with Indians speaking the language. That as Greek characters were used by the Welsh the scriptures, translated into Welsh, might be in Greek characters, though Roman characters were used in the 12th century. "Or, perhaps, the book was written in the ancient Greek characters, of the same form as those of the Alexandria manu-

00d script in the British museum. In that case, it is not at all surprising that neither the captain, nor the Welshman could read them." He adds: "Though the art of printing was not discovered in the days of Madog, yet there can be no doubt, but that the Britons had copies of the scriptures in their own language many centuries before that period.** Madog was of a princely family; it may therefore be reasonably thought that he and his companions had one or more copies among them." (p. 53.)

Superior to Columbus. Williams quotes Lord Lyttleton (who was skeptical regarding theMadocian theory), as stating "that if Madog did really discover any part of America, or any islands lying to the southwest of Ireland, in the Atlantic ocean, without the help of the compass, at a time when navigation was ill understood, and with mariners less expert than any other in Europe, he performed an achievement incomparably more extraordinary than Columbus."

Madoc's Alleged Return. Williams discusses the alleged return of Madoc's to Wales "and back to his colony" as not impossible, as "the space of time in which these voyages of Madog's were performed is no where mentioned. They might have taken up twenty years or more; "that he might have sailed "northward by the American coast, till he came to a situation where the light of the sun at noon was the same, at that season, as it was in his native country, and then sailing eastward (the Polar Star, long before observed would prevent his sailing on a wrong point) he might safely return to Britain."

That as to Robertson's special objections that America's discovery by the Welsh rests upon no stronger foundation "than the discovery of it by Behaim" because Powell's history was written centuries from the event—Williams cites as commonly believed, the works of Ossian and Fingal, "which were not known to the world till very lately."

Christian Customs. Williams refers to Christian customs, the cross, baptism, Lord's supper, thirty-five fast days, and the Trinity, and inclines to think these were of the Britons; that while, as Hornius observes, those customs may have been introduced by orientals, yet "as no nation in Europe, but the ancient Britons, hath ever pretended, or does pretend to have discovered America before the Spaniards," he inclines, etc.; and he concludes on this head by observing that neither Lyttleton nor Robertson took notice of Jones' narrative or of Lloyd's letter. 000

Madoc Revered. Williams supposes Madoc to have acted in an amicable and affectionate manner towards the natives; "for his memory was held in high esteem by the Mexicans when Cortez arrived there. He was the hero whose praises they celebrated."

Welsh Tribes, Why Unknown? Williams assigns as reasons why the alleged Welsh Indians were not better known to Europeans—that they dwelt far west of the English provinces in America, where they may have been driven by more powerful tribes or by Europeans, and may be reduced to comparatively inconsiderable numbers by intestine quarrels or foreign enemies.

Other Welsh Authorities. Williams, as quoted below, refers to other Welsh Bards as authority for the Madocian accounts:

"Taliessyn, a Welsh Bard, who, as already observed, flourished about the middle of the sixth century, and who by way of eminence was called Pan Beirdd y Gorllewin, 'Head of the Western Bards;' some of whose works are come down to us; particularly, an Ode, in Welsh, translated into Latin sapphic verse, by David Jones, Vicar of Llanfair Duffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire, in 1580. Owen Cyfeiliog, and Gwalchmai, in the twelfth century; and many others, at different periods, of distinguished merit, have appeared in Wales. Some of whom have plainly alluded to Madog's adventures. For the names, times and the works of these Bards, I refer to Mr. Evan's specimens of the ancient Welsh Bards, 1764. To Sir **Thomas Herbert's** travels and to Mr. **Warrington's** History of Wales, p. 307. Edit. 1788." (p. 80.)

Only Two Voyages. Williams, in his "Book Appendix," discusses a passage from the "Universal History" assuming, upon the supposed authority of Hakluyt, that Madoc made three voyages; and after comparing the accounts of Hakluyt and Lloyd—both relating but two voyages—he concludes that the authors of Universal History misapprehended Hakluyt on that head.

Welsh Used Greek. Williams therein also—after citing Cesar as to the use of Greek characters by the Welsh at the Roman invasion—declares that the Welsh tongue bears strong resemblance "in words and letters to the Hebrew and Greek," and that the gutterals in the three languages "are sounded much alike."

Bowles' Account—Books. Williams refers to an interview by William Owen of Gen. Bowles, published in Gentleman's Maga-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

zine, Mr. Bowles' statement being that he knew the Welsh Indians as "Padoucas, or White Indians" on account of their complexions; that they were in a country marked "Padoucas" on a map (shown him); those in the northern part of that country were "Black Padoucas," being a mixture of "White Padoucas and other Indians;" the White Padoucas having sandy, or red, or black hair; he had traveled their southern boundaries but not through their country; was of opinion they first came "to the Floridas, or about the mouths of the Mississippi;" he thought them Welsh because a Welshman who was "with me at home for some time, who had been a prisoner among the Spaniards ** and contrived to escape, ** made his way across the continent, and eventually passed through the midst of the Padoucas, and at once found himself with a people with whom he could converse, and he staid there some time;" that he told Bowles "that they had several books, which were most religiously preserved in skins, and were considered by them as mysterious. These they believed gave an account from whence they came;" they "told the Welshman that they had not seen a white man like themselves, who was a stranger, for a long time."

Here Williams refers to some criticisms on Gen. Bowles (who came to London as a Cherokee chief) in the Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1791—that he was an Irishman "and a relation of a respectable tradesman in London;" Williams averring that if Bowles was "in 'a humble station,' " it was to his credit that he had attained to distinguished rank.

Other Witnesses. Williams mentions a Mr. Price, another Cherokee chief "who was born among the Creeks," as having stated in London that his father, a Welshman, "had frequent interviews and conversed with the Padoucas, in his native language," and refers to John Filson in whose tract on Kentucky that writer declares "the western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation at a great distance up the Missouri ** in manners and appearance resembling other Indians, but speaking Welsh, and retaining **some ceremonies of the Christian worship**;" which accounts were current "of late years," his tract having been published in 1784.

Welsh Language—Manuscript. Williams further quotes from Morgan Jones, who met in Pennsylvania in about 1750 a Welshman whom he had known in Wales and who had lived for years in North Carolina; this friend was "very sure there were Welsh Indians," his house in North Carolina being "on the great Indian road to Charlestown, where he often lodged parties of them. In one of these parties, an Indian hearing the family speak Welsh began to jump and caper as if he had been out of his senses. Being asked what was the matter with him, he replied, 'I know an Indian nation who speak that language, and have learnt a little of it myself, by living among them;' and when examined he was found to have some knowledge of it;" that he said they lived 'a great way beyond the Mississippi.' Dr. Williams also refers to a statement by Edward Williams in the Gentleman's Magazine, concerning "a Mr. Binnon of County Coyty" in Glamorgan County who had been an Indian trader from Philadelphia for several years; that about 1750 he and other men went "much farther than usual to the westward of the Mississippi, and found a nation of Indians who spoke the Welsh tongue. They had iron among them, lived in stone built villages," etc.; ruined buildings were among them, one was "like an old Welsh castle," another "a ruined church, etc. They showed Mr. Binnon a book, in manuscript, which they carefully kept, believing it to contain the mysteries of religion;" they said that not long ago a man was among them who understood it, who told them that "a people would some time visit them and explain to them" the book; they conducted Binnon and his men to a place "they well knew," weeping when he left them, and entreating him to send them a person "who could interpret their book." Binnon told this in Philadelphia and was informed that the Welsh Track people had heard of them "and that some Welshmen had been among them." The gentleman who wrote of this account to Williams stated that Binnon declared "that these Indians worshipped their book as God, but could not read it. They also said that thirty or forty of them sometimes visited the ancient Britons settled on the Welsh Track in Penn. *** When Mr. Binnon said that he came from Wales, they replied, 'it was from thence that our ancestors came, but we do not know in what part of the world Wales is." He also says Edward Williams interviewed Richard Burnell who was in America before the revolution, near Philadelphia, and knew "many ancient Britons, who informed him that the Welsh Indians were well known" in Pennsylvania, and who knew "the Mr. Lewis who saw these Welsh Indians at a congress

000 among the Chickasaws;" that Burnell said a Mr. Willain who had a land grant in the Natches country and among his settlers were some Welshmen "who understand the Indians," that two Welshmen in his colony "perfectly understood the Indians and would converse with them for hours together," the Welshmen assuring him that "the Indians spoke" Welsh; that some were there, some west of the Mississippi, "some in very remote parts." Said Edward Williams also interviewed Sir John Caldwell, Bart., who was stationed east of the Mississippi during the revolution, who after long living among the Indians was adopted, and married a chief's daughter, "had a perfect knowledge" of the Indians' language; they informed him that some Welshmen in his company understood the language of the Panis or Pawnees, who were "considerably civilized, cultivated the ground, and built houses" and "will work," and so were not killed when captured but sold into slavery. One Rimington, an Englisman who "had long been among the Indians" was reported by Edward Williams as having been at the Forks of the Ohio with Jack Hughes, a Welshman, where he saw "some strange Indians" from "west of the Mississippi; Rimington could not interpret them, and upon reporting accordingly, a Welshman exclaimed, "Oh they are the Welsh Indians," and Hughes, who well understood them, interpreted for them. Rimington said they "are **tolerably** white in complexion, and their dress like that of the Europeans; a kind of trousers, coats with sleeves, hats or caps made of small and very beautiful feathers," they might be met "at the Indian Marts, on the Mississippi, at the Natches, Forks of the Ohio, Kaskaskia, etc." That Rimington knew there were "civilized Indians far west of the Mississippi" called by those on the eastern side "Ka Anjon, which, in their language signifies, **first of men,** or **first** men," and was inclined to think them the "Welsh Indians." That "Panis, or Pawnees" means with Indians east of that river, "a slave." Dr. Williams mentions "Another Gentleman" who was stationed at the Illinois declared that "an Indian nation came down the Missouri," whose language "some Welshmen in his regiment" said was Welsh, "and that they had among them a **Manuscript Welsh Bible.** They never came down but when there were floods in the Missouri" and brought hides, furs, buffalo tongues, etc." He avers that Binnon seemed, to Edward Williams, "perfectly ignorant of Madog's emigration;" thought the Padou-

cas "original inhabitants of the spot where he found them. He said they showed him a stone on which there was an inscription, which they kept in memory of one Madog."

Variously Named. "Mr. Williams refers to several writers who say that there now is such a tribe, (more civilized, etc.) Cox's Description of Louisiana, p. 16 and 36. Charlevoix, vol. 2, p. 225. Bossu's account of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 182. He adds that these Welsh Indians seem to go by various names; such as Panes, or Panis. The Padoucas, the Panis, and the Cansez, are intermixed with one another. Charlevoix, vol. 2, p. 224, says that the Panis tribe is very numerous and is divided into several Cantons, which have names very different from one another. Among them he reckons the Canez, and Mactotatas."

Gov. Dinwiddie Interested. "In the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1791, there is a letter inserted from a Mr. Cochran, to the late Governor Dinwiddie, on this subject, stating that the French governor of Canada sent three young priests to some Indians settled at the back of New Spain, who found them to be Welsh, for they had Welsh Bibles among them. They had a great aversion to the French, because that when they first settled at the mouth of the Mississippi, they had been almost cut off by the French; a small remnant, however, escaped to the place where they now live, who are now become a numerous people. When the French governor heard this, he determined to send an army to destroy them; but the French being then in a state of war with nations nearer home, the project was laid aside. Mr. Cochran then says, that the man who furnished him with this account informed him, that the messengers who went to make this discovery, were gone sixteen months, before they returned to Canada, so that this poeple must live at a great distance from Canada, due west.

"We are also told that Governor Dinwiddie agreed with three or four of the back traders to go in quest of the Welsh Indians, and promised to give them £500 for that purpose, but that he was recalled before they could set out on that expedition. This letter is dated Winchester, August 24th, 1753."

Williams then refers to "Col. Cochran" having afterwards expressed disbelief in the story as being "founded in delusion;" that one Maurice Morgan, in whose hands a copy of that letter was placed by Dr. Morgan of the British Museum "for inspec-

000 tion by Lord Shelburne," had written to Williams that he (Morgan) had "thought its contents not deserving of regard" and had so told Shelburne; but that Morgan's reason for thinking "slightly" of this narrative was "that Welsh bibles were found among this people;" which objection Williams thinks devoid of weight, as "many Welsh people" who had gone into that country and, 'finding some people there who understood the Welsh language, might leave printed Welsh Bibles behind them;" that a tradition so general "as to obtain from Mexico to high northern latitudes, there must be some foundation for it;" and cites Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1791, p. 206, and for August, 1791, p. 693.

Peru—Madoc's Discovery? Williams here cites "Mr. John Williams" in "Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom," Vol. 2, as favoring the belief of Madoc's having discovered Peru, some of the "few fair and white persons found there by the Spaniards" being his colony's descendants, that Madoc first landed in the gulf of Mexico, and on his second voyage was shipwrecked at the Amazon, up which he went and on to Peru, etc.; that Manco Capac and Mamma Ocelle were "Madog and his wife;" that another reason assigned by said author for so thinking is that the Mexicans and Peruvians "were deeply impressed with the notion that a people from the east would visit them. Madog's promise of returning again was handed down from father to son," which tradition was dimned by time, etc.; that Montezuma was the eleventh emperor since conquering the country, etc. But the "John Williams, LLD," from whose "Enquiry," etc., we have taken all the foregoing, expresses disbelief in the theory of Madoc's having discovered Peru, thinking it more likely that his descendants "dwelling on the sea coast, west of Mexico, might, when at sea, be overtaken by a storm, and carried to Peru, and not knowing how to return, settle there." That if twenty years be allowed each emperor, Montezuma as the eleventh in Mexico and Atabalipa the twelfth in Peru would account, as to time, for the erection of those two empires as coeval with Madoc, etc. He then refers to Drummond's theory:

Drummond's Theory. "Captain John Drummond, who resided in Mexico for many years, in a military capacity, as an engineer, geographer and naturalist, 'is fully persuaded and convinced, that Madog was one of the confederate chiefs who went upon an expedition westward from Britain, about the year 1170; and that he hath heard of colonies, or tribes of Welsh people now existing, who he thinks are descendants of Madog's people.' And he is of opinion also that the emigrants were a mixture of Welsh, North Britons and Irish, and that Madog was the naval commander." **

Irish Accompanied Madoc. "It is said by Jean Brechsa, a Bard, who flourished about the year 1480, that Rhiryd, an illegitimate son of Owen Gwynedd, who, Dr. Powell says was Lord of Clochran in Ireland, 'accompanied Madog across the Atlantic (Morwerydd) to some lands they had found there, and there dwelt.' There can be no doubt, therefore, but that some Irish went with Madog to America. **

Warrior Celts of Mexico. "The captain observes, that Don Juan de Grijalva, a Spaniard, says that 'He found the Celts of Mexico, some having little or no arms, but clothed in hides; and that the fierceness of their manners, and their undaunted courage, resembled the old Britons, as described by Henry the Second, to the Emperor Emanuel Commens. He says also that there were others with short skirted vests, of different colors, with targets and short black spears, and that these new men in Mexico were adored by the natives, for their courage and dexterity, for that they had never seen ships 'till they came among them, from afar.'

"It is the opinion of the captain, that Madog and his company first landed at Vera Cruz, in the gulf of Mexico."

Montezuma's Forefathers. "The captain informed me, that he and his servant, who was a Highlander, paid a visit to the only descendant of Montezuma then living, who was a venerable old man, and who told him that his forefathers came from a distant country, which this gentleman thinks was Britain."

Scotch Mexicans. "The captain also said that on a journey through the country, he came to a hut of the Mexicans, where he heard a woman singing to her child. His servant, with great surprise, told his master that he understood what she said, for it was Erse, the language of the Highlanders in Scotland; whence it seems clear that Madog's company had Scots among them."

Celtic Discoveries. "By the same gentleman I have been informed that Sir George Mackenzie, in a letter to James the Fourth, Earl of Perth, his grandfather, on the subject of the **Celtic**, as some call them, as others, the British, Discoveries in Europe and

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 America, says, that they are mentioned by Baronius, Scaliger, Salmasius, Lipsius, etc., as having taken place long before any other nation in Europe thought of visiting America.

"In a letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, signed Columbus, inserted in the Public Advertiser, September 23rd, 1790." ***

Cabot Discovers Welshmen. "We are there told that Sebastian Cabot, about the year 1495, two years after the first voyage of Columbus, discovered Florida and Mexico; and that he found on the different parts of the coast, the descendants of the first British discoveries, who settled at Mexico about the year 1170. In the records of the Mexican emperors, are set down the arrival and settlement of their first great Progenitors, whom the unfortunate Montezuma describes in 1520, in a speech made to his subjects, after he had been taken prisoner by that monster of cruelty, 'Cortez.' "

Montezuma's Declaration of Foreign Ancestry. " 'Kinsmen, Friends, Countrymen, and Subjects: You know I have been eighteen years your sovereign and your natural king, as my illustrious predecessors and fathers were before me, and all the descendants of my race, since we came from **a far distant northern nation whose tongue and manners we yet have partly preserved.** I have been to you a father, guardian, and a loving prince, while you have been to me faithful subjects, and ardent servants.

" 'Let it be held in your remembrance that you have a claim to a noble descent, because you are sprung from a race of free men and heros, who scorned to deprive the native Mexicans of their ancient liberties, but added to their national freedom, principals which do honor to human nature. Our divines have instructed you of our natural descent from a people the most renowned upon earth for liberty and valor; because of all nations they were, as our first parents told us, the only unsubdued people upon earth, by that warlike nation, whose tyranny and ambition assumed the conquest of the world; but nevertheless, our great forefathers checked their ambition, and fixed limits to their conquests, although but the inhabitants of a small island, and but few in number, compared to the ravagers of the earth, who attempted in vain to conquer our great, glorious, and free forefathers, etc.' The author of the above account told me, that he had seen Montezuma's speech in a Spanish manuscript, in the year 1784, when he arrived at Mexico, and that, most probably, it is still extant. ***

"The above description remarkably and exactly answers to the characters, manners and principles of the ancient Britons.

Mexicans Descendants of Britons. "It also appears from the negotiations of Sir John Hawkins, an English admiral, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and from the speeches of various Mexican chiefs, to Sir John Hawkins' officers, who were sent from Vera Cruz to Mexico, to negotiate with the Spanish Viceroy, that these chiefs looked upon themselves as descended from the ancient Britons." **

"Antonio Goluaso, a Portugese author of great repute, mentions the expedition of a Captain Machan, or Mackman, a British adventurer, in 1344, who had been in Mexico, and had got store of wealth and silver from the British sovereign of that day; but who was cast away on his return to Europe, with all his treasure, near Maderia.

Columbus' Knowledge of Previous Voyages. "It is highly probable that Columbus derived his notion of a western continent, from the reports of former voyagers; especially from the papers of a British captain, who in sailing from Mexico, or from some part of America, was forced by a gale of wind, through the straits of Gibraltar, up to Genoa, where his vessel was lost; and who after the wreck, lived in the house of Columbus, where he died, and left his papers, books, charts, and journals in the hands of Columbus."

Williams Summarizes Witnesses. "We have now a crowd of witnesses to present existence of a tribe, if not numerous tribes of Welsh Indians on the continent of North America. In this sequel I have enumerated several fresh evidences to the fact."

Mentioning the names given above, he adds the following passages in Captain Carver's "Travels in interior parts of North America."

Carver's Reference to White Indians. "In page 118, the captain says, 'a little to the northwest of the Messorie (Missouri) and St. Pierre, the Indians farther told me that there was a nation, rather smaller and whiter than the neighboring tribes, who cultivate the ground, and (as far as I could gather from their expressions), in some measure, the arts.'

"In the following page, speaking of the same Indians, he says, 000 'They are supposed to be some of the different tribes that were tributary to the Mexican kings; and who fled from their native country, to seek an asylum in these parts, about the time of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, about two centuries ago.' "

Mexicans of the Del Norte. "The following account is given by Hakluyt, Vol. 3d., page 311, from Antonio de Epejo, written in 1583. The same accounts are given by others, mentioned by Hakluyt.

"The Spaniards along the Rio del Norte, Lat. 37 upwards, found the Indians far more civilized and having a better form of government than any others in Mexico. They had a great number of large and very populous towns, well built of stone and lime, three or four stories high; their country is very large and extensive. The chief town, called Cia, has not less than eight markets. The inhabitants are very warlike, have great plenty of cows and sheep, dress neats leather very fine, and make of it shoes and boots which no other Americans do. ** They have large fields of corn, and make curious things of feathers of various colors. They manufacture cotton, of which they make fine mantles striped with blue and white. ** And the inhabitants seem to have some knowledge of the Christian religion. They have many chapels, and erect crosses, and they live in general security and peace."

The following summary, with some extracts from the work of Rev. Benj. F. Bowen, entitled "America Discovered by the Welsh in 1170, A. D." (Phila., 1876. J. B. Lippincott & Co.), upon the subject of alleged Welsh-speaking American Indians, including the Mandans, and in which he enters at large into the defense of the Madocian theory of American discovery, are, we believe, well worthy of perusal. The merits of Bowen's discourse and his very large repository of evidences as narrations and otherwise, cannot be duly appreciated without reading his book.

Bowen's Claims—Tuscoraras Were Welsh. Bowen refers to the Tuscorara Indians, as Doegs, Chowans, Meherrins, and Nottoways; were Southern Iroquois, and when defeated in 1712 by the Carolinians the remnant fled north and became the sixth nation of the Iroquois confederacy; Mingoes was the Algonquin name of it.

Iroquois Expelled "Alligewi." He says the Five Nations or Konoskoni or "Cabin-Builders," "from all that can be ascertained," came from the west and warred against the Alligewi or

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Alleghanians and drove them into the interior; that they were so expelled and moved westward is certain, and were supposed to be whites; that as shown by McCulloch in his "Researches on America" the barbarous Iroquois nearly destroyed "their more refined and civilized neighbors;" their march westward evidenced by their fortifications, the red men ascribing these works "to white men;" that the westward movement is distinctly marked, showing a European civilization and influence in erecting defenses onto the Ohio, where they made a vigorous stand, shown by greater number of earthworks; when defeated on the lower Ohio "after a residence of many years, the remnants of those tribes which survived ** fled up the Missouri." But "Who were these Alligewi? The word is strikingly familiar to the Welsh ear, with its double L, and corresponds with the Welsh words **alli**, mighty, and **geni**, born, or 'Mighty born.'" That although the Tuscaroras were supposed to be akin to the Iroquois in language, he deems it "altogether probable that they were more anciently a branch of the Alligewi;" that the Tuscoraras were lighter colored than other tribes, being generally mentioned as **White Indians**, as were other tribes in the west and south "emanating from this source;" and adds: 000

"They stated that their ancestors were Welsh. If the objection is made, how they could have lost traces of European civilization so soon, it may be recollected that the buccaneers of St. Domingo had in thirty years forgotten all knowledge of Christianity. Such radical differences as exist between the white and red races could not have been lost without the lapse of centuries; while their languages would undergo, more or less, some marked modifications."

Welsh Terms—Round Tower. Bowen declares the word "Pontigo"—a river where Morgan Jones found Welsh-speaking Indians—seems derived from Pont y Go, "The Smith's Bridge," a smith dwelling beside a bridge, which name might be given such place by Indians ignorant of metals; that "Doeg Indians might be a corruption of Madog's Indians;" that those who were convinced on the subject believed that Madoc's colony landed in New England and moved down the coast and inhabited country between Virginia and Florida; that the Round Tower at Newport, R. I., indicates "vestiges of European civilization ** before the Pilgrim Fathers landed," and "is certainly constructed on the same principle as Stonehenge, Eng., and many other Cambrian memorials;" conforms exactly to the Druidic circle, rests on eight round columns twenty-three feet in diameter and twenty-four high, that it is Cambrian, not Scandinavian archeology; speaks of Stedman "of Breconshire" as relating that Oliver Humphreys narrated that "an English privateer, or pirate" being near Florida careening his vessel, "had learned, as he thought, the Indian language, which his friend said was perfect Welsh." That "our American mounds agree in the minutest particulars with those described by Pennant as found during his 'Tour in Wales;'-" that this "is the opinion of De Laet, Hornius, Mitchel, and others." Bowen proceeds:

"**Welegeens.**" "A writer in the 'Mount Joy Herald,' makes this statement: 'In the year 1854 I had a conversation with an old Indian prophet, who styled himself the fifteenth in the line of succession. He told me, in broken English, that long ago a race of white people had lived at the mouth of Conestoga creek, who had red hair and blue eyes, who cleared the land, fenced, plowed, raised grain, etc., that they introduced the honey bee, unknown to them. He said the Indians called them the Welegeens, and that in the time of the fifth prophet the Conestoga Indians made war with them, and, after great slaughter on both sides, the white settlers were driven away. Our fathers and grandfathers used to tell us what a hatred and prejudice the Conestoga Indians had against red haired and blue eyed people—in all their wars in eastern Pennsylvania. When taking white prisoners, they would discriminate between the black haired and the red, showing mercy to the former, and reserving the latter for torture and death. This would seem to indicate that they knew from tradition of Prince Madoc and his followers, and of the fearful fight they had made.'

"In Onondaga, New York, there are vestiges of ancient settlements dating back beyond the time when the council fires of the six nations burned there. These are protected by three circular forts."

Wyoming and Susquehanna Valley Remains. Bowen then refers to Isaac Chapman's "History of Wyoming," Penn., in which that author states that remains of ancient fortifications exist in the Wyoming valley apparently constructed by "a race of people very different in their habits from those who occupied the place when first discovered by the whites;" one of the best preserved of which he examined in 1817, and carefully ascertained its dimensions, it being in Kingston township on the north side of Toby's Creek, about half a mile from its confluence with the Susquehanna; "it consisted probably of only one mound" of equal height on all sides, made of earth, "the plain on which it stands not abounding in stone. On the outside of the ramparts an intrenchment, or ditch." The plain when first known was covered with a forest, "and the trees which grew in the rampart and the intrenchment are said to have been as large as those in any other part of the valley;" one oak among which was found "to be seven hundred years old. The Indians had no tradition concerning these fortifications" nor, apparently, of the purposes for which they were constructed." Bowen adds: That on the Susquehanna, a little above Wilkesbarre is another fortification "of precisely the same size and dimensions as that described by Chapman." That in these works and up that river to Towanda human skeletons have been found, "as many as six at one time having been washed out of the old fireplaces by the freshets—large earthen vessels, and relics of various kinds. One of these earthen vessels was twelve feet in diameter, thirty-six feet in circumference, and three inches thick," found on a Mr. Kinney's farm; relics of iron instruments had also been found, "which agrees with a remarkable tradition of the Shawanese Indians who emigrated from Pennsylvania to Ohio, 'that the coasts were inhabited by white men who used iron instruments.' "

Welsh Coat of Arms. Says Bowen: "Six buttons were also discovered bearing on their faces the **mermaid**, the coat of arms of the Principality of Wales." Bowen proceeds:

"Ring-Forts" Like Celts—Skeletons—Metals. "The statements of these early writers have been abundantly confirmed, respecting the existence of monumental remains and traces of civilized life, by the patient explorations of such workers as Schoolcraft, Squier, Davis, Pidgeon, and others, who have opened up many of these half-concealed monuments and disclosed their contents. Squier, in speaking of those found along the Ohio valley, says, 'The British Islands only afford works with which any comparison can safely be instituted. The 'ring-forts' of the ancient Celts are nearly identical in form and structure with a large class of remains in our own country."

000 Bowen then refers to human skeletons found by Squier, as related in his "Aboriginal Monuments," together with ornaments and metals worked by skilled artificers, and remarks:

"It must be borne in mind that these mounds bear no resemblance to Indian burying grounds. They are the sepulchres of a superior people." He proceeds:

Silver Cross. "In 1844 a gentleman in Ohio sent to the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Manssachusetts, a cross, the emblem of the Christian faith. It was made of silver, and was about two and a half inches long. It was found on the breast of a female skeleton which was dug from a mound at Columbus, over which a forest of trees had grown. On this cross the capital letters I. S. are perfectly visible. These initials are interpreted to mean the sacred name, Iesus Salvator."

Celtic Hieroglyphics. " A relic which obtained great celebrity some years ago, and which is now in the possession of some person in Richmond, Virginia, was found at Grave Creek, Virginia, near the Ohio, in the upper vault of the celebrated mound there. The attention of the learned world was brought to it by Mr. Schoolcraft, who made a correct drawing and published it. The mound went by the suggestive name of '**The Grave.**' **The relic was found, with other things, by the side of some skeletons. It is nearly circular in form, and composed of a compact sandstone of a light color. The inscription upon it runs in three parallel lines, and comprises twenty-four distinct characters, having at the bottom a hieroglyphic or ideographic sign. It has been subjected to the studious scrutiny of many learned men, with various results. The most of the characters have been decided to be Celtic or old British."

Broadsword. "Some years ago a circular plate, made of copper and overlaid with a thick plate of silver on one side, was found near the city of Marietta, Ohio. The copper was nearly reduced to an oxide, or rust. The silver was black, but could be brightened by being rubbed. A small piece of leather was inserted between the two plates of silver and copper, and both held together with a central rivet. This relic exactly resembled the bosses or ornaments appended to the belt of the broadsword of the ancient Briton or Welshman. It lay on the face of the skeleton, preserving the bone, as it did the leather and the lint or flax around the rivet. Near the body was found a plate of silver, six inches long and two in breadth, and weighing one ounce. There were also several pieces of a copper tube, filled with rust. These are supposed to have belonged to the equipage of a sword."

Engineering Implements. Bowen declares that the Ohio earthworks and those of the Mississippi show great proficiency in engineering with "all parts of a systematic defense ** and even the lookout, corresponding to the **barbican** in the British system of the middle ages." He contends that the many relics in various metals curiously wrought, found in those earthworks, must, in view of the ignorance of the red man of those arts, be regarded as of other origin—the ancient genius for work and trade in metals indicating probability of Welsh origin.

Mines. He declares the Upper Lake copper mines were worked by Welsh in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries; trees found standing among the debris showing about 400 years' growth; huge chunks of copper "lifted out of their beds by finished tools," etc; "wooden frame-works and skids have been found made with sharp-edged instruments." He thinks, however, that too great age has been by some ascribed to the defenses and mounds of our country, citing various earthworks made during and prior to the revolutionary period as being less ancient than they appear.

Fortifications Less Ancient Westward. Bowen states that trees in the Wyoming valley showed, by annular rings, from 600 to 700 years' age; that according to President Harrison's observation, 500 years would be required for growth of trees on those ruins to mature to middle of eighteenth century; that the age of trees standing on those earthworks diminish "with striking regularity in the ratio of their distance from the eastern coast." The first found reach 700; in the Ohio from four to 500; in the Lake Superior region 350 to 400; that by comparing these figures with A. D. 1170 at Madoc's alleged landing, etc., little doubt can linger as to the origin, etc.

Dispersion From Ohio. Bowen asserts that abundant evidence existed that dispersions went on to south, west and north from mouth of the Ohio after the "Welsh Indians" were driven there, shown by similar remains indicating skill, etc. Such a dispersion offers the best solution for ** numerous accounts given of them into an intelligible and consistent whole."

Semi-Civilized Western Indians—Names. Bowen cites from a

800 letter from a resident of New Orleans, to Griffith Williams of London: "That the natives of America have, for many years past, emigrated from the east to the west is a known fact; ** that a people called the Welsh or White Indians now reside at or near the banks of the Missouri, I have not the least doubt of," traders, etc., having so asserted; that an Illinois merchant assured him that "White Bearded Indians" existed west of the Mississippi in thirty-two villages, have religious ceremonies, etc.; and cites Cox's "Description of Louisiana" (1782) showing that La Hontan found Indians "much more civilized than any other Indians," designated Metocantes, 800 miles up the Missouri on "an east lake;" and from Charlevoix (Vol. 2, p. 225) that far west of the Mississippi were "people resembling the French, with buttons on their clothes," etc., called Mactotatas; from Bossu's "Louisiana" who had information "by the Indians of a nation of clothed people" far west of the Mississippi in villages of "white stone, navigated in great piraguas on the great salt water lakes," and who cites Peter Martyr as declaring that "the nations of Virginia and Guatemala celebrate the memory of their ancient heroes, whom they call Madoc," and that Bishop Nicholson "believes that the Welsh language has formed a considerable part of the languages of the American nations. There are antiquarians who pretend that the Spaniards got their double or guttural L (LL) from the American, who, according to the English, must have got it from the Welsh;" and that Bossu adds "that these Welsh Indians seem to go by various names, such as Panes, Panis (Pawnees)." And after quoting from Williams the Caldwell narrative and referring to Rimington's statement, Bowen declares that "the Welsh Indians went by different names," as Padoucas, Panis (Pawnees), Ka Anzou (Kansas), Matocantes, Mactotatas, and Madawgwys, Madogians or Madogiant, etc.; and that if 'm' were substituted for 'p' in "Padouca," making it "Madouca," it would "more nearly approach the general name," and the "p" might be a corruption from difficulty of pronunciation; that the "White Padoucas" lived in detached communities from 37 north and 97 west to 43 north and 110 west; that the Padoucas, Pawnees and Kansans were mixed; that from documents in Jefferson's Congressional Message "the Pania Pique in Arkansas were formerly the White Panias, and are of the same family as the Panias" of the Platte; that in Du Pratz's Louisiana the "White Panis" in the map are

at the head of the Arkansas, "Panis Mahas, or White Panis" at the head of the Platte, the Padoucas between, etc.

Madoc is "Matoc." Bowen asserts that "Matocantes" resembles "Madoc," that "a Welshwoman in South Wales calling her son by that name would say Matoc, which is pure Silurian Welsh, the 'd' being changed into 't'; hence there might follow such names as Matociait, Matociant, Matocantes, as applied to the followers of Madoc."

Griffith's Account. Bowen quotes from Judge Toulman, of Mississippi in "Kentucky Palladium" of 1804, to the effect that no circumstance relative to the west has excited "more general attention and anxious curiosity than the opinion that a nation of white men speaking the Welsh language reside high up the Missouri"—an idea regarded variously as "suggestion of bold imposture" or "as a fact fully authenticated by Indian testimony, and the report of various travelers worthy of credit;" that the Ohio fortifications "were evidently never made by the Indians," that their structure indicates an agricultural people of military genius; that he himself entertains "considerable doubt about the fact;" but that what John Childs veraciously related to him merited "serious attention," concerning Maurice Griffith's experience; who a native of Wales forty years before was imprisoned in Virginia by the Shawnees and taken to their nation, where, after remaining several years, he was allowed to go with five Indians "to explore the sources of the Missouri;" that in ascending from the Missouri's mouth they "frequently came in sight of" the river, finding salt springs, etc.; found lead and copper mines, and later "white mountains" which, though in summer time, "appeared to be covered with snow," but which proved to be "immense bodies of white sand;" had passed through "about ten nations of Indians;" thence up a "shallow river" to the top of a mountain, beyond which they went "for several days," when they "accidently **met with three white men in the Indian dress.** Griffith immediately understood their language, as it was pure Welsh" except an occasional word; that (the Shawnees had taken turns as spokesmen, etc.) it being the turn of a Shawnee to interpret, Griffith "preserved a profound silence, and never gave them any intimation that he understood," etc.

European Indians. That after four or five days' journey they reached those white men's village, "where they found that the

000 **whole nation was of the same color,** having all the European complexion;" for some fifteen miles "the three men" took them through their villages, where a council over the conduct to be observed towards "the strangers" was held for three days in their presence, "as the strangers were not supposed to be acquainted with their language;" the conclusion being that the visitors were warlike and should be put to death, as invasion might follow their return. "Griffith then thought it was time for him to speak. **He addressed the council in the Welsh language;**" informed them that no nation, but curiosity had sent them, they wished to trace up the Missouri, etc. "An instant astonishment glowed in the countenances, not only of the council, but of his Shawanese companions, who clearly saw that he was understood by the people;" he was believed, they were then treated with utmost friendship; the Griffith party remained eight months, "but were deterred from prosecuting their researches up the Missouri by the advice of the people" who declared that after a twelve months' journey up the river it did not decrease, etc.

Forefathers From Abroad. "As to the history of this people he could learn nothing satisfactory. The only account they could give was, that their forefathers had come up the river from a very distant country. They had no books, no records, no writings. They intermixed with no other people by marriage; there was not a dark skinned man in the nation. Their numbers were very considerable. There was a continued range of settlements on the river for fifty miles, and there were within this space three large water courses which fell into the Missouri, on the banks of which they were likewise settled.** Their clothing was skins well dressed. Their houses were made of upright posts and barks of trees.** They had no iron. ** They had some silver which had been hammered with stones into coarse ornaments, but it did not appear to be pure. ** He said nothing about their religion."

Griffith, after preparing a canoe and promising to again visit those Indians, descended the river with the Shawnees and returned to that nation, having been gone "about two years and a half;" and a few months later found it possible to leave a hunting party and reach "the settlements on the Roanoke." Childs "knew him before he was taken prisoner, and saw him a few days after his return;" he was "universally regarded as a steady, honest man of strict veracity;" Childs "has no more doubt of the truth of his relations than if he had seen the whole himself." 000 Bowen shows the lead mines to have been in Missouri, the salt springs in Nebraska, and the "white mountains," as proven by his own observations, were "bold projections of limestone which in the distance appeared like banks of snow" on the Missouri banks; says Griffith's speaking of Indians "all white" presents difficulties but is partially explained by stating that they were unmixed "by marriage" with other people and were not "dark skinned," that they were white enough to be called by Griffith and numerous reliable witnesses "White Padoucas," "White Panis," "White Indians;" that his statement that they had "no records and no horses" differs somewhat from those of others but does not contradict them, as "different branches" of Indians were visited, etc.; that his reference to their language "meant no more than that the radical structure of the (Welsh) language was still preserved and could be readily distinguished, though some of the words had undergone modification."

Morgan Lewis' Account. Bowen cites Gen. Morgan Lewis, a revolutionary army officer and aide-de-camp to Gen. Gates, once governor of New York, etc.; a native of Wales, his father was Francis Lewis, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and the latter was captured at Oswego in the French war and assigned over by Montcalm "to certain Indians, as their share of prisoners" among which Indians "was a chief whose language resembled the Gaelic (a dialect of the Celtic with which Mr. Lewis was thoroughly acquainted)." Mr. Lewis understood him "sufficiently to discover that his language was of that ancient dialect;" he then "addressed the chief in Welsh, and was understood" and Lewis was "selected from the rest of the prisoners, and accompanied and guarded," etc.; and Lewis "was sent to England in a cartel for exchange of prisoners."

Bowen, after referring to the Roman characters as in use in Wales after Cesar's invasion, thus alludes to the Greek characters in use in their sacred literature, and to the various books found among the American Indians as shown:

Were They Madoc's Books? "Yet so sacred was the Greek character held by monastic schools, because the gospel was written in it, that many transcribers—and they were the bookmakers—clung with a religious enthusiasm to it. Christianity

000 was certainly introduced into the island in the second century, the Greek forms in the Welsh language had not become lost, and it is likely that many parchment manuscripts were extant, Madoc's position as a member of the royal house of Wales, notwithstanding the scarcity and great cost of books in those times, would enable him to possess some of the most valuable, even those illuminated in rich, fixed colors, and which required many years of patient toil to manufacture. It is far more within the order of reason to believe that Madoc and his emigrants, upon leaving their own native shores, would take with them copies of the great book of books—the king of books on the throne of letters, than that they would leave them behind. Some of his followers, perhaps the most of them, were not able to read them, but knew somewhat their contents. Under their new conditions of life, relapsing gradually from a civilized state, these manuscripts came at length to be invested with a certain sacred mystery, as the depository of their ancestors' religious faith. No wonder that they should be so carefully preserved."

Bowen, p. 120, Ch. XI, thus refers to the Mandans; and to Catlin's visit to and concerning them:

Bowen On the Mandans.. "During the present century various travelers have called the attention of the civilized world to a small body of Indians inhabiting the banks of the upper Missouri, called Mandans. They, with the Minnetarees and Crows, are classed with the Dacotahs or Sioux, although it is known that their language bears no affinity whatever with the latter people. The Mandans are very light colored."

And after making a biographical reference to Geo. Catlin, and stating that he was the most intimate with the Mandans of all who visited them, he adds:

Bowen On Catlin. "When Mr. Catlin made his first entrance into this nation, numbering several thousands, he was struck with their appearance, and at once concluded that they belonged to an amalgam of native and white. He was at a loss for some time how to account for this; and it was only after the most careful study that he reached the conviction that the Mandans were a branch of the descendants of Madoc's colony. He believed that the ten ships of Madoc, or at least part of them, either entered the Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi, or the colonists landed on the Florida coast and made their way inward. They began agriculture, but were attacked and driven to erect those immense earthen fortifications and subsequently were driven still farther and farther inward. Mandans was a corruption of Madawgwys, a name applied by Cambrians to the followers of Madoc." He says of their pottery:

Mandan Pottery. "They exhibit great skill in the manufacture of pottery, and the specimens found in the earthen remains of the Ohio valley, many of them at present in the museum at Cincinnati, correspond with many of the products of the Mandans. The Mandan women mould vases, cups, pitchers, and pots out of the black clay, and bake them in little kilns in the sides of the hill, or under the bank of the river."

Mandan Language—It Is Welsh. "The most convincing proof, probably, to the mind of Mr. Catlin, and all others who have studied the possible identification of the Mandans with Madoc's colony, is found in their language. The resemblance in form and sound is so very marked that it cannot escape the eye and ear of any individual, much less those of a Welshman. It is expected that he would catch the soonest any similarity in the two languages, the Mandan and the Welsh. And fortunately there are too many instances of this similarity to admit for a moment, the idea of chance or coincidence."

Bowen here exhibits a table of "words selected from the English, Mandan, and Welsh, and their pronunciations," adding that many others might be given:

English.	**Mandan.**	**Welsh.**	**Pronounced.**
I	Me	Mi	Me
You	Ne	Chwi	Chwe
He	E	A	A
She	Ea	E	A
It	Ount	Hwynt	Hooynt
We	Eonah	Huna, masc. Hona, fem.	Hoona Ho'na
Those ones	....	....	Yrhai Hyna
No, or there is not	Megosh	Nagoes	Nagosh
No	Meg	Nage	

English.	Mandan.	Welsh.	Pronounced.
		Nag Na	
Head	Pan	Pen	Pen
The Great Spirit	Maho peneta	Mawr penaethir Ysprid mawr	Yaoon penaethir Usprid maoor
Father	Tautah	Tadwys	Tadoos
Foh! Ugh!	Paeechah	Pah	Pah
Hammock	Caupan	Gaban	GaGban
To call	Eenah	Enwi	Enwah

Deep Guttural Sounds. He remarks: "The Welsh is noted for its deep gutturals, and, to the ear unaccustomed to hear it, it seems very harsh. Travelers have observed this guttural pronunciation very extensively among the American Indians."

Natches Indians Talked Welsh. "Mr. Baldwin, in his recent work on 'Ancient America,' in his endeavors to determine the origin of the Natches Indians, says, 'they differed in language, customs, and condition from all other Indians in the country.' He then attempts to affix their traditions with the people of Mexico." And after referring to the Willain colony in the Natches country (hereinbefore related), Bowen asks: "Is it not altogether likely, then, that the Uchees and Natches, being known to be so very different from the surrounding nations in language, spoke the same as the Mandans, and that the language of the three did not differ much from the Welsh?" And after mentioning the Dr. Morse report concerning the "Welsh Indians" in 1820, and to Catlin's researches, Bowen remarks: "But time is making things more equal, and the sturdy defenders of Madoc's voyages and American colony are having his claims ratified in a most astonishing manner. It is very fortunate that more recent researches have brought to light the language of a people so rapidly melting away, and thus supplied an answer to the question as to how the many Welshmen who came in contact with them could understand and converse with these Welsh Bearded Indians." (p. 130, Ch. 12.)

(Bowen, p. 130, Ch. 12.)

000

Mexico and Peru—Taltecs to Aztecs. "Mexico and Peru were the most civilized parts of the continent when the **Spaniards** arrived. If it had not been for the bigoted zeal of the Spanish priests, and most signally that of **Zumarraga,** the abundant and astonishing national picture-writings which were the historical records of the Aztecs might still be in existence, and serve to reveal the successive links in the mighty chain of migrations of the early peoples so that much of the mystery that still lingers in regard to their settlement and civilization could be removed ** The historian is consequently forced to rely upon whatever fugitive pieces escaped the hands of those infamous ravagers, the study of the monumental remains, and the broken and scattered remnants of this people, scarcely recognizable, found on the Mexican plateau and in the various parts of the American territories."

Aztecs From North. "According to the most authentic records which remain, the Aztecs came from the regions of the north, 'the populous hive of nations in the new world, as it has been in the old.'

"**Claviegro,** the patient and voluminous historian of New Spain, assigns the following dates to some of the most important events in the early history of Mexico:

	A. D.
The Toltecs arrived in Anahuac	648
They abandoned their country	1051
The Chichemecs arrived	1170
The Acolhuans arrived about	1200
The Aztecs or Mexicans reached Tula	1196
They founded the Mexican Empire	1325
Conquest by Cortez	1521

Aztecs Not Barbarians. "Zurita, a celebrated jurist, whose personal experience and observation among the Aztecs extended over a period of nineteen years, and who returned to Spain in 1560, was indignant at the epithet **barbarian** as applied to the Aztecs, an epithet, he says, 'which could come from no one who had personal knowledge of the capacity of the people or their institutions, and which in some respects is quite as well merited by the European nations.'" Then, quoting Zurita on the civilization, arts and sciences of the Aztecs, their light complexion and European dress, he quotes further: Throughout the different cities were barber shops, where the men assembled to have their beards shaved. No such thing was known among the American Indians.” Bowen quotes from Prescott:

“God of the Air”—His Return Expected. “ ‘Quetzalcoatl, God of the air,’ says Prescott, ‘instructed them in the use of the metals, in agriculture, and the arts of government. It was the golden age. For some cause he was compelled to abandon the country. On his way he stopped at the city of Cholula, where a temple was dedicated to his worship, the massy ruins of which still form one of the most interesting relics of antiquity in Mexico. When he reached the shores of the Mexican gulf, **he took leave of his followers, promising that he and his descendants would revisit them hereafter,** and then, entering his wizard skiff made of serpents’ skins, embarked on the great ocean for the fabled land of **Tlapallan** (are there not here the Welsh words **lla,** place, softened into **tla** and **pell,** distant, meaning ‘distant place?’) He was said to have been tall in stature, with a white skin, long dark hair, and a flowing beard.” Bowen proceeds:

Aztec Religion—Two Sources. “Their religion was a compound of Christianity and mythology, of spiritual refinement and ferocity. Indeed, so much was this the case that the most intelligent and judicious historians of the Aztecs could not resist the conviction that one part of their religion emanated from a comparatively refined people, while the other sprang from barbarians. Everything pointed to the doctrine that their religion had **two distinct sources.**

“Some historians have erred in supposing that they indiscriminately sacrificed human beings. Their sacrifices were criminals collected from all parts of the country, kept in cages, and slain upon the same day to make a religious exhibition.”

One God—Prayers. “They recognized the existence of one God, Supreme Creator and Lord of the Universe. In their prayers they addressed Him as their God, ‘by whom they lived, omnipresent, who knoweth all thoughts and giveth all gifts, without whom man is nothing, the incorporeal, invisible, one God, of perfect perfection and purity, under whose wings we find repose and a sure defense.’**

“The ceremony of naming children shows a wonderful coincidence with what are called Christian rites. The lips and bosom of the infant were sprinkled with water, and 'the Lord was implored to permit the holy drops to wash away the sin that was given to it before the foundation of the world, so that the child might be born anew.' "**

Aztec Bards—Welsh Minstrelsy? "The Aztec nobles had Bards in their houses, who composed ballads suited to the times, and sang and played on instruments in honor of the achievements of their lord. In this is discovered a resemblance to the customs of Welsh ministrelsy."

Musical Councils—Welsh Trials? Badges. "They had also musical councils, held on special days in the presence of large public assembles, for the trials of historians, poets, and musicians, in their respective compositions, before the monarchs of Mexico. Tuzcuco, and Tlacopan. These were exactly identical with the Welsh Eisteddfods—bardic and musical contests, which have long been and are still held in Wales. ** They had also a complete system of orders and badges resembling those in Europe. By a study of their stone calendars, they are known to have had regular divisions of time; and their years consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days."

Montezuma's People Conquerors. "Historians relate that in the first interview of Cortez and Montezuma in his palace, the latter said that his ancestors were not the original proprietors of the land. They had occupied it but a few ages, and had been led there by a great Being, who, after giving them laws and ruling over the nation for a time, had withdrawn to the region where the sun rises. He had declared upon his departure that he or his descendants would again visit them and resume his empire. The wonderful deeds of the Spaniards, their fair complexion, and the quarter whence they came, led him to believe that they were his descendants.

"It was this tradition, inflexibly maintained by all the natives, which enabled Cortez and his followers to secure such a complete conquest throughout the Aztec empire."

South American White Civilization. "Three South American nations ascribe their civilization and religion to three white men who appeared among them.

"Abbe Molina in his 'History of Chili,' Vol. II. book I, 000 chap. I, says, that 'there is a tribe of Indians in Baroa, Chili, whose complexions are a clear white and red.'

"Baron Humboldt, in his 'Political Essays,' remarks that 'in the forests of Guiana, especially near the sources of the river Oronoco, are several tribes of a whitish complexion.'

"Captain John Drummond, who resided in Mexico for many years in a military capacity, as an engineer, geographer, and naturalist, favored Dr. Williams, the author of the 'Enquiry,' with his opinion on the subject." (p. 140.)

Bowen then quotes, as hereinbefore taken from Williams' 'Enquiry;' and proceeds:**

..**Tlascalan and Aztec Fortifications.** "The Tlascalans belonged to the same great family with the Aztecs. They came on the grand Mexican plateau about the same time with the kindred races, at the close of the **twelfth** century. Their immense fortifications and walls, which extended for many miles, show the same methods of construction, in semi-circular lines and overlapping one another, as those in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi."

Pyramid Builders From Atlantic. "Most of the historians say that the two great pyramids—teocalli—just northeast of the city of Mexico were constructed by an ancient people that came to Mexico from some country east situated on the Atlantic ocean."

Aztecs Coeval With Madoc. "What, then, is the conclusion? That the Aztecs were the Alligewi, who were found in Virginia and the Carolinas by Madoc's colony, and with whom the latter became amalgamated and moved westward. Being more and more pressed by the powerful Indian nations which subsequently gained control of the middle and eastern countries, they were at length obliged to abandon the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Some portions of these people had reached, as a sort of advance guard, the Mexican plateau before those who were left behind entirely surrendered the country. The date of founding the Aztec empire—1325—necessitates this view." **

Migration Up Missouri. "When this mighty migration took place, a portion, from necessity, convenience, or inclination, ascended the Missouri; and of these the Mandans are the descendants; while the main body moved in a southwest direction, leaving unmistakable traces of their progress from the Mississippi to Mexico."

000

Aztec-Welshmen Controlled Continent. "The Aztec empire became a controlling power on this continent, and exacted tribute for the Mexican kings from all the Indian tribes. ** The ships which are represented on Mexican monuments as crossing an ocean are Madoc's vessels, floating on the Atlantic from Wales to America.

"Abbe Brasseur de Bourbourg, the most profound investigator in Mexican and Peruvian antiquities, says, 'The native traditions generally tribute their civilization to bearded white men, who came across the ocean from the east.'" Bowen proceeds:

"Sebastian Cabot, in 1495, ** discovered Florida and Mexico, and found along the coast the descendants of the Welsh discoverers who eventually settled in Mexico."

Bowen, (page 147) cites the following from Carver:

Carver—Mexican Subjects. "Captain Carver, in his 'Travels in North America,' says that 'northwest of the Missouri and St. Pierre, the Indian fathers told me that there was a nation rather smaller and whiter than the neighboring tribes, who cultivated the ground, and (as far as I could gather from their expressions) in some measure the arts. They are supposed to be some of the different tribes that were tributary to the Mexican kings, and who fled from their native country to seek an asylum in these parts about the time of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, about two centuries ago.'" and cites him further regarding the missionary idea of the Indians having "some notion of the Christian institutions, for they were greatly agitated at the sight of the cross, which made such impressions on them that they showed that they were not unacquainted with the sacred mysteries of Christianity." Bowen adds:

Civilized Montezumans. "Very little has been known until late years of the Rio del Norte and its source or sources, which flows in a southerly direction through New Mexico and empties into the gulf. ** Military and scientific expeditions have been sent into these countries, which have returned with reports of having discovered new nations about whom nothing has been hitherto known.

"In the campaign of General Crook against the Apaches, a large tract of country, rich with the relics of the past, was opened. It contains a chain of cities in ruins and ancient towns

000 still inhabited by a race which holds itself aloof from Mexicans, Indians, and Americans, and prides itself on its descent from the ancient inhabitants of the country, and maintains a religion and government peculiar to itself. ** A strong wall surrounds the largest settlement.

"Montezuma is their deity, and his coming is looked for at sunrise each day. Their priests wore heavily embroidered robes, while their religious ceremonies are very formal and pompous. They have a high order of morality. The chief powers of government are vested in thirteen caciques, six of whom are elected for life. They are quite advanced in civilization. Their women are not treated as beasts of burden, but are respected, and permitted to confine themselves to housekeeping. From all that can be gleaned, it appears that these people have maintained their traditions unbroken for at least three centuries and a half." Bowen proceeds:

Civilized Moquis in Arizona. "Dr. Oscar Leow, chemist to Wheeler's surveying expedition, has contributed a brief ** intensely interesting article to the 'Popular Science Monthly' for July, 1874, on 'The Moquis Indians of Arizona,'" who observes:** Their seven cities stand upon very high precipitous cliffs of sandstone, which, when seen in the distance, present such bold fronts that it appears out of the question for any one to think of climbing them. As the traveler approaches, however, he discovers narrow and circuitous paths, which must be passed over single file up and up, till the summit is reached. On this giddy height is the home of the Moquis. Dr. Leow terms it the 'Gibraltar of the West,' which the Navajoes and Apaches have never been able to conquer. **

"Here the habitations are not built of adobe, like Indian and Mexican huts, but of stones firmly held in place by a cement of clay and sand. The stories are about seven feet high, divided into rooms, and each provided with a fire-place. Windows are cut into the walls about a foot square."

Welsh Architecture—Cookery. "The architecture of these stone houses bears a marked conformity with that of the ruder ages among the Welsh.

"The physical appearance of the Moquis is a nearer approach to that of the Caucasian than to that of the Mongolian race. The complexion is a light red-brown, and the countenance unusually intelligent.

"Mr. Cozzens, (of the Wheeler expedition) says that 'their faces were so bright and intelligent that I fancied they only required to be clothed in American dress, and shorn of their long locks of coarse black hair, to enable them to easily pass for people of our own race who had become brown from exposure to the sun. Their clothing is neat, and they have an abundance of it. They knit, spin, and weave blankets, cloaks, etc. They also manufacture certain kinds of pottery." Their reservoirs are mentioned—utilized for live stock, and corn, the "principal crop." "The corn is ground, and then mixed with water, so as to form a paste. The woman who makes it dips her hand in the paste and rapidly passes some of it over hot stones, where it is soon baked. The cakes resemble the Welsh **bara llechan**, noted in their cookery. They have a kind of food called **panoche**, and still another called **tomales**—by mixing flour and meat in a powdered state. ** The vice of drunkenness and crime of murder are not known among this people. They are kind, warm-hearted, and hospitable. They believe that their great father, Montezuma, lives where the sun rises."

Aztecs of Welsh Blood. "Mr. Cozzens studied their manners and customs, and endeavored to learn something of the history of this singular race. He says that it is asserted by the people of the other pueblos 'that they are descendants of the Aztecs, though with Welsh blood in their viens.' " **

Mohave—Welsh Words. "The Mohaves, who are on the Colorado reservation, Arizona, are a small, isolated tribe, not more than perhaps a thousand all told. They are different from all other Indians. The women are tall, cleanly, and less servile than most Indian women. Their language is peculiar, and has Welsh words in it." **

Modocs—Madocs? "The perfidious and barbarous massacre of General Canby, Rev. Eleazer Thomas, and others, by that savage band called the Modocs, brought them into an unenviable notoriety; but, while passing, it is worthy of query how they came by a name so much like that of Madoc." (pp. to 155.)

Indian Freemasons. Bowen then refers to the beginning of

Freemasonry in America, as stated by Benjamin Franklin, and proceeds:

"But, if the testimony of the intelligent travelers can be accepted, it seems quite evident that lodges of Freemasons were in existence among the American Indians centuries prior to this time, all of which point to a Welsh origin. They certainly had private societies, which met at certain times, and the proceedings of which were kept inviolably secret under an oath." He then cites Governor DeWitt Clinton as believing that the signs of Freemasonry were found among the Indians. ** "In an interview that he had with an Indian preacher, the latter unmistakably made revelations which convinced the former that he was familiar with the order." The Iroquois are referred to as having Masonic orders, whose procedure was "same as among the whites." He asks:

Freemasonry in Wales. "Whence did they originate? There was a long period in Europe when the knowledge of Freemasonry was mostly confined to the Druids, and in Wales this order was the most generally found. It was their home. There they had their colleges and schools of learning. They were, indeed, priests, legislators, and historians. Through their order the principles of the mystic craft were preserved throughout Europe. It was associated with the later system of Bardism; ** it was known that its deepest roots were struck in the soil of Wales. Madoc, the son of a king and surrounded by a heroic band of eminent men, could not be ignorant of the principles of Freemasonry, and when they landed in America they brought those principles with them. ** There are not wanting instances where the lives of many whites have been spared by the Indians because the understood certain secret signs communicated to them."

Again, speaking of the Welsh language among the American Indians, Bowen says:

The Language Test. "An eminent modern linguist has said 'that the genealogy and antiquities of nations can be learned only from the sure testimony of their languages.'"

He then declares that "discovery of portions of a language" among nations separated by ocean, "surely indicates that some who spoke that language must have brought it there." And, adverting to instances of "imagined similarities" by the philolo-

800

gists, he says: “But when it is found that an identity exists in (1) the form, (2) the sound, and (3) the signification, and that, too, in multiplied instances, there is reason to believe that this identity does not rest on accident or coincidence. The student of language seaches for some more satisfactory solution of the question, by ascertaining, if possible, how those portions were introduced.”

Celtic Words Among Indians. “Now, this is just the case with the Celtic language found among the Indian dialects. From New England to South America, Celtic words have been found whose structure, pronunciation, and signification were the same as those in use by the Gaels, Erse or Irish, and Welsh. Names of tribes, persons, places, rivers, and of many living and inanimate objects on the American continent, have been applied, and are now used, which can find their right place only by assigning to them a Celtic origin. ** Some said that was not to be wondered at—the finding of Celtic words among Americans—for undoubtedly the Celts have been very widely spread over the globe. This, however, was too general an affirmation to satisfy others. The celebrated Bishop Nicholson believed that the Welsh language formed a considerable part of the languages of the American nations. Sir Thomas Herbert, who published his travels in London in 1683.” (Here follows what has been heretofore set forth from John Williams' book concerning Welsh words in this connection; and he adds:) **

“Appomattox” Is “Madoc's Name?” “Appomattox, now well known to the world, signifies **Appwy**, ‘appoint’ or ‘name,’ and **Mattox**, ‘Madoc’ or ‘Mattoc,’ the latter having the soft Silurian sound; hence, ‘Madoc's name.’

“Madoc's creek is known by most Virginians, and by others.”**

“Aztlan” a Welsh Word. “Aztlan seems clearly to have been derived from Welsh words having become mingled with Indian dialects, as **as**, ‘plane surface’ or ‘area,’ and **lan**, ‘up,’ an elevated land or table-land.’ What better definition could be found to describe the Aztec plateau, beginning in Aztlan proper and continuing to widen into the Mexican plateau? The termination **lan** is very common in the Aztec language. It is found in the names of tribes, their cities, and a multitude of other objects, Tlascalans, Cholulans, and other peoples who dwelt in and around the upper countries of the Aztec Empire. The terminations **an** and **pan**, the latter indicating locality, as prefix or suffix, are very noticeable. So frequent also is the use of **ch, th, and ll**, that the Welsh student who speaks or reads aloud Aztec words is simply astonished by their perfect consonance with those of his native tongue."

After recounting the long list of witnesses cited by him, and after referring to Catlin's "Years of Patient Investigation into the Language of the Mandans and of Other Indians," and to his table of Mandan and Welsh words, Bowen observes concerning the Moquis and Mojaves (page 163):

Celtic Inscriptions. "Those who have any acquaintance with the Moquis and Mohave tongues declare that they contain Welsh words. Relics with Celtic inscriptions have been unearthed. Aztec and Spanish chroniclers confirm more recent researches respecting the presence of Celtic words in the old Aztec language." ** And concludes:

Bowen's Conclusion. "What then? Why, that such a mass of testimony under such a variety of circumstances, precluding the idea of preconcert, interest, prejudice, or down-right ignorance, establishes the fact that the Welsh were on this continent prior to its discovery by Columbus and that those Welsh were led thither by Prince Madoc in 1170, A. D. Many historical facts to which the world has given implicit credence are far less supported than the above. Hereafter let not American historians pass over these facts in contemptuous silence."

Welsh Immortals In America. And in a parting word Bowen, with pardonable pride of race and of nation-building, refers to the great part taken by the "Welsh mind and heart" in founding Christian civilization in America; to the fact that the Mayflower was captained by a Welshman and contained, beside, five prominent Welshmen; to Roger Williams and the "pure democracy" established by him at Providence—rewarded them by banishment, later by his ennoblement in bronze; and lastly, to the eighteen Welsh immortals who signed the Declaration of Independence, beginning with John Adams and ending with Francis Henry Lightfoot Lee.

Morse Report. As showing the currency of the accounts of the "Welsh Indians" early in last century, we cite the following from the Morse report to war department in 1822:

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"MANDANS."

"The Mandans, numbering 1,250 souls, live on the Missouri, a few miles on this side Mandan Fort. It has been suggested (see page 145 of this App.) that these Indians are descendants of the Welsh colony, who are said to have early immigrated to this country." (Report of Jedidiah Morse to Secretary of War, page 252, in year 1822.) 000

"WELSH INDIANS."

"Father Reichard, of Detroit, from whom I received the facts just stated, informed me at the same time, that in 1793, he was told at Fort Chartres that twelve years before Capt. Lord commanded this post who heard some of the old people observe, that **Mandan Indians** visited this post, and could converse intelligibly with some **Welsh** soldiers in the British army. This hint is here given, that any person who may have the opportunity, may ascertain whether there is any affinity between the Mandan and Welsh language." (Id, page 145.)

Maj. Amos Stoddard, who was the first acting governor of the upper half of the Louisiana Territory after its acquisition by the United States, in his very interesting and competent work entitled "Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana," published in 1812 (Mathew Carey, Phila.) has entered into a discussion of the claims in favor of the discovery of America by Prince Madoc, under the title, "A Welsh Nation In America," and has collated many evidences tending to sustain the theory, some of which have already been brought in review herein, and some of which refer to as found in his text.

The fact that an officer of the federal government, holding an official relation to the country whose history brought out this portion of his observations and discussions, saw fit to descend to a detailed treatment of the question in the manner in which he presents it, seems to lend more than mere plausibility to his views and conclusions.

Stoddard regards it "morally impossible" that the "chain of testimony" he presents in favor of Welsh discovery of America "should be fabricated;" refers to the Welsh historians and bards as "recording their migration," and scouts the idea of any motive to deceive by "so many different persons at such distant periods

000 of time from each other;" thinks it as likely that Wales "furnished a population for America" as that Asia, Africa, or the North of Europe did; that it is "likely" that Romans imparted to Britons "some confused notions" they had of discoveries in the Atlantic by the Phonicians or Carthaginians from Africa; that the Welsh had no adequate means of handing down history in Roman times, "but this furnishes no argument in favor of a contrary doctrine;" that the Welsh, attacked for ages by Romans, Saxons and Danes, "had as powerful motives for colonization as any other people;" they were likewise internally convulsed, had small hope of maintaining liberty and so had "strong motives to abandon their country;" that the difficulties of crossing the ocean from Wales were "not much greater than those from Africa, and much less than those usually experienced from the north of Europe;" mentions the general Welsh authorities hereinbefore treated of, quoting largely from Caradoc derived from Hakluyt; criticises Dr. Belknap wherein he imputes to Hakluyt a seeming paradox of finding a country "without inhabitants" and one where the Welsh "used the language found there," etc., by declaring that "unknown land" was first found, then a land "without inhabitants," and then one the character of which (on the alleged third voyage) "no one knowns;" that the language from Caradoc that "the Welsh followed the manners of the land, and used the language found there" "were the mere suggestions of" those writers centuries after the migration, in an attempt to show "that the Mexicans derived their origin from the Welsh," in which attempt it was necessary "to infer the loss of their own" language, while "the accounts given by Madoc himself on his return from his two first voyages, are perfectly natural and consistent;" that Belknap's partiality for Columbus doubtless made him "less disposed to admit the possibility of a competitor;" that while navigation was then little known, "yet it pretty plainly appears" that Madoc united his two first colonies at the point of destination. Of the fate of the third, which sailed in ten ships, we have no account; that if through unknown occurrence it landed far from the other two colonies, "probably they remained disunited and unknown to each other; and this accounts in part, for the apparent confusion in some of the subsequent proofs of their dispersed situation on this continent;" cites the

account of "a knight of Wales, who, with shipping, and some pretty company, did go and discover these parts, (America) whereof, as there is some **record of reasonable credit** amongst the monuments of Wales"—as giving countenance to the storied "supposed voyages and discoveries of King Arthur;" the Morgan Jones account; Stedman's adventure; Charlevoix's account, of Carver and ending with Griffith's adventure; after which Stoddard publishes the following statement, made to him personally.

Red-Haired Indians In Far Northwest. "The subsequent narrative, corroborative of the one just mentioned, was given to the author of these sketches in May, 1805, by a Frenchman in upper Louisiana. This man had been several years employed in the northwest by the English traders. His usual station was at the factory or trading house on the Assiniboine, a few days travel only from the Mandans on the Missouri. The conductor of that establishment aimed to extend the trade, and for this purpose selected a party, of which the informant was one, to explore the Missouri. In ascending that river they were obliged to pass one or two cataracts or falls in the shining mountains, as also several rapids, and much **hard water.** On the summit of these mountains they entered a large lake, from which the Missouri flows; and from the opposite extremity another river issued towards the west, down which the informant descended for some distance, and spent eleven days on it. The publication of the narrative of Griffith suggested the propriety of some enquiry relative to the Indians about the head of the Missouri. The informant declared, (and he sustains the character of a man of truth) 'that there was a numerous and singular nation of Indians about the lake, who were not in the least tawny, but rather of a yellowish complexion; that they wear their beards, and that great numbers of them had red hair on their heads.' This is almost literally the statement furnished by the Frenchman."

Stoddard then refers to Beatty, to Sutton and Hicks, to Isaac Stewart; and then goes into consideration of criticisms of the Welsh theory, in substance as follows:

Criticisms Discussed. That plausible objections are made to the foregoing authorities as proving too much, in that Welsh tribes found in so many localities must have been more numerous than the colonies of Madoc would produce; but as the "only data we have for calculation" show three voyages, with ten ships in the last one, the number of passengers (supposing, what is reasonable, 55 per ship), would in 500 years produce a population of over a million; while sanguinary wars have thinned their ranks, wiping out entirely many Indian nations; perhaps the third never joined the other colonies, but Madoc's superiority in ensuing wars with natives would probably result in rapid increase of Welsh population, with survival for long time of their arts; that the Tuscaroras of Welsh extraction probably built the subterraneous wall in North Carolina then lately discovered—a wall of well cemented stone of whose length 160 feet and about thirty in depth had been uncovered.

European Heraldry. That in Mexico the arms of Montezuma, "suspended in a broad shield over the front gate of his palace (a griffin with expanded wings, holding a tiger in his talons) appear to be derived from the heraldry of Europe;" yet, "we must not yield lightly" to the idea of their being of Welsh origin, since able historians "have rendered it pretty certain that some of the most polished nations of Anahuac were of Asiatic origin" coming from the northwest coast. And Stoddard urges that dispersion probably followed Madoc's death, from growth of population, and from internal wars which their "temper and disposition"' would render probable.

Welsh On Atlantic Coast—Bibles. Stoddard believes the related discoveries were "actually made"—proven by coincidences and agreements; that Welsh bibles are shown by at least three persons (already mentioned) to have been found "among at least two tribes"— the witnesses living in different eras and unknown to each other.

On the Missouri. That "a white people" recently inhabited country near the Missouri's head, that they were Welsh, is "rendered almost certain" by the witnesses cited by him. He quotes the Gov. Sevier letter (hereinbefore alluded to) at length.

It seems very probable, from the Sevier letter and other evidences already considered, and from what is found below as observed by Maj. Stoddard, that the locality in which the alleged Welsh Indians were seen is much higher up the Missouri than the Mandan villages. Stoddard answers the question, why Lewis and Clarke did not find them, by stating that the Missouri over

200 miles from its source was divided into three branches, the most northerly being traversed by that expedition, while the travelers cited as witness probably "ascended one of the other branches;" while in fact Lewis and Clarke did discover "some straggling Indians near the mouth of the Columbia similar in appearance to those mentioned by Vancouver" and resembling those "said to reside" on a branch of the Missouri. He declares too that it is "difficult to doubt" that Welsh Indians were found on the Red river by other witnesses cited herein; he referring to them as Ietans or Alitans on the sources of the Red, Arkansas and "some of the westerly branches of the Missouri," some of whom "were discovered by" Lewis and Clarke near the "shining (Rocky) mountains." "They uniformly live in tents of a conical figure, fabricated from skins. ** Their language widely differs from all others in the country, and few are disposed to encounter the difficulty of acquiring it." That the "confused notion of an universal deluge, entertained by several tribes" of apparently different origin should be in some measure ascribed to the Welsh immigrants, "and the many other tokens of Christianity" discovered in America, in case it is "satisfactorily ascertained" that the Welsh established themselves here through Madoc. Stoddard also declares his confidence in the claims supporting Indian Freemasonry, as hereinbefore referred to.

Southey's "Madoc." The poet, Robert Southey, has immortalized the story of Madoc's voyages and alleged adventures in America. The renowned production is prefaced by a brief statement of the generally understood account, which the author states as "The historical facts on which this poem is founded." The poem embraces eighteen cantos on "Madoc in Wales" and twenty-seven on "Madoc in Aztlan;" exploiting the historical facts of Welsh contemporary history; the alleged voyages, with romancing upon his supposed contact with Indians, and carrying the narrative into the Mexican civilization of the era of Spanish discoveries. Southey supposes three voyages. We quote very briefly a few fragments:

> "Twice have the sons of Britain left her shores,
> As the fledged eaglets quit their native nest;
> Twice over ocean have her fearless sons
> Forever sail'd away. Again they launch

000 Their vessels to the deep, *** Who mounts the bark?"
And upon his landing in America:
"Madoc had paused awhile; but every eye
Still watched his lips, and every voice was hushed.
Soon as I leaped ashore, pursues the Lord
Of ocean, prostrate on my face I fell,
Kiss'd the dear-earth, and pray'd with thankful tears."

* * * * "To the shore
The natives throng'd; astonish'd, they beheld
Our winged barks, and gazed with wonderment
On the strange garb, the bearded countenance
And the white skin, in all unlike themselves."

Some writers have asserted, we believe, that Southey published a statement to the effect that investigation, subsequently to the composition of this poem, had shown that the claims that Welsh Indians existed in America were unfounded. He does not seem to have gone so far. He does publish, under date of 1815 (in his complete works, London; Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1847, page 313) this statement: "That country has now been fully explored, and wherever Madoc may have settled, it is now certain that no Welsh Indians are to be found upon any branches of the Missouri." This is a note to his said preface, in which latter he declares: "Strong evidence has been adduced that he reached America, and that his posterity exist there to this day, on the southern branches of the Missouri retaining their complexion, their language, and, in some degree, their arts." The preface was written in 1805. Therefore, whatever of disproof of the then recent accounts of those "Welsh Indians" was known to him must have been educed between 1805 and 1815—only eight years after Lewis and Clarke returned. The reader of history will judge for himself as to whether the "branches of the Missouri" could have been "fully explored" and this Madocian account wherein it involved those territories, discredited in that short space of time.

Geo. Catlin's specific reference to the subject of Madoc's supposed voyages to and settlement in America, and to the Mandan Indians in that connection, is found in Vol. 2 of his "North American Indians" (from which we have hereinbefore made extracts at large on the Mandans) on pages 260-261. We insert below the substance of what he there published on the subject:

Catlin On "Welsh Colony." That said colony, "which I barely spoke of in page 206, of Vol. 1," which "sailed under the direction" of Prince Madoc, or Madawc, ** according to numerous and accredited authors, and never returned to their own country," supposedly landed somewhere on the coast of North or South America, and "I believe it has been pretty clearly proved that they landed either on the coast of Florida or about the mouth of the Mississippi," and settled, according to "history and poetry of their country" somewhere in the interior of North America, where they are yet remaining, intermixed with some of the savage tribes."

Mandans On Lower Missouri. Catlin, after mentioning his references to his account of the Mandans, avers that since those notes were written (particularly shown at page 9 of said Vol. 1), he descended the Missouri from the Mandan village to St. Louis, "and have taken pains to examine its shores; and from the repeated remains of the ancient locations of the Mandans, which I met with on the banks of that river, I am fully convinced that I have traced them down nearly to the mouth of the Ohio river; and from exactly similar appearances, which I recollect to have seen several years since in several places in the interior of the state of Ohio, I am fully convinced that they have formerly occupied that part of the country, and have, from some cause or other, been put in motion, and continued to make their repeated moves until they arrived at the place of their residence at the time of their extinction, on the upper Missouri." Catlin here refers to his "annexed chart of the Missouri and Ohio rivers," where he had "laid down the different positions of the ancient marks of their towns which I have examined," and various fortifications on the Ohio and Muskingum rivers "in the vicinity of which I believe the Mandans once lived." His map shows locations of "Mandan remains" in South Dakota opposite the mouth of the Grand river, and at the mouth of the Cheyenne, also both sides of the James east of the Big Bend of the Missouri, and as far down the Missouri as the region below the mouth of the Platte in Nebraska and Iowa; then substantially opposite to Leavenworth in Missouri, also opposite St. Louis, and about two-thirds of the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 way down from that point to the mouth of the Ohio, near Grand Tower, in Jackson and Union counties, Ill.; and north and east of Cincinnati, Ohio, on the Ohio and interiorly; all of which works, he contends, show marks of high civilization; were not built by savages; and refers to fortifications in Ohio "with covered ways to the water." (See in this connection, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, Hist. Coll., S. D., page 555, concerning a supposed Aricara (Ree) stronghold a few miles below Pierre, showing similar passage-ways to water. They may, however, have been works of Mandans.)

Madoc On Mississippi? Catlin inclines to believe the "ten ships" of Madoc, or some of them "entered the Mississippi river at the Balize, and made their way up the Mississippi," or landed on the Florida coast, thence inland to the Ohio, where they flourished, but were overpowered at length by savages, when they built the great fortifications, etc., and were ultimately reduced, all but a few perishing—"that portion of them who might have formed alliances by marriage with the Indians," etc., and at length as despised half-breeds they gathered into "a band, and severing from their parent tribe, have moved off, and increased in numbers and strength, as they have advanced up the Missouri river to the place where they have been known for many years past by the name of the Mandans, a corruption or abbreviation, perhaps, of 'Madawgys,' the name applied by the Welsh to the followers of Madawc."

Mandan Villages Down to Ohio. Catlin, after again outlining the known mode of excavating for Mandan lodges, "which leave a decided remain for centuries," relates as follows his discoveries on the Missouri:

"After leaving the Mandan village, I found the marks of their former residence about sixty miles below where they were then living, and from which they removed (from their own account) about sixty or eighty years since; and from the appearance of the number of their lodges, I should think, that at that recent date there must have been three times the number that were living when I was amongst them. Near the mouth of the Big Shienne river, 200 miles below their last location, I found still more ancient remains, and in as many as six or seven other places between that and the mouth of the Ohio, as I have designated

000

on the chart, and each one, as I visited them, appearing more and more ancient, convincing me that these people, wherever they might have come from, have gradually made their moves up the banks of the Missouri, to the place where I visited them." He proceeds:

Rees Occupied Mandan Villages. "The Riccarees have been a very small tribe, far inferior to the Mandans; and by the traditions of the Mandans, as well as from the evidence of the first explorers, Lewis and Clarke, and others, have lived, until quite lately, on terms of intimacy with the Mandans, whose villages they have successively occupied as the Mandans have moved and vacated them, as they now are doing, since disease has swept the whole of the Mandans away." Catlin adds:

"People of the Pheasants," From Ohio? Catlin then treats the name "People of the Pheasants," claimed by the Mandans, as that of the "primitive stock," and as indicating their former locality either some 700 miles "west of the Mandans, or the forests of Indiana and Ohio," since "pheasants cannot be found short of reaching the timbered country at the base of the Rocky mountains" or in the forests mentioned to eastward.

Lived Near Pipestone, Minn.—Pottery Like Ohio. Catlin declares that: "The above facts, together with the other one which they repeatedly related to me, ** that they had often been to the hill of red pipe stone, and that they once lived near it, carry conclusive evidence, I think, that they have formerly occupied a country much farther to the south, and that they have repeatedly changed their locations, until they reached the spot of their last residence." He cites as evidence that they came from the Ohio and brought with them some civilized customs, numerous specimens of pottery taken from graves and tumuli in Ohio—some of which he had donated to the Cincinnati museum—"were to be seen in great numbers in the use of the Mandans; and scarcely a day in the summer, when the visitor to their village would not see the women at work with their hands and fingers, moulding them from black clay, into vases, cups, pitchers, and pots, and baking them in their little kilns, in the sides of the hill, or under the bank of the river." He felt sure this art "belongs to no other tribe on the continent"—in which he was evidently in erro And he dwells upon their art of making glass beads, as a secret "that the traders did not introduce amongst them" and as "one that they cannot learn from them," and which he thinks "has been introduced among them by some civilized people, as it is as yet unknown to other Indian tribes in that vicinity, or elsewhere."

Mandan Canoe Is Welsh Coracle. Catlin declares: "The Mandan canoes which are altogether different from those of all other tribes, are exactly the Welsh Coracle, made of raw-hides, the skins of buffalos, stretched underneath a frame of willow or other boughs, and shaped nearly round, like a tub; which the woman carries on her head from her wigwam to the water's edge, and having stepped into it, stands in front, and propels it by dipping her paddle forward, and drawing it toward her, instead of paddling by the side. In referring to plate 240, letter C, page 138, the reader will see several drawings of these seemingly awkward crafts, which, nevertheless, the Mandan women will pull through the water at a rapid rate."

Catlin's Conclusion. He declares of the Mandans, that "from what I have seen of them, and from the remains on the Missouri and Ohio rivers, I feel fully convinced that these people have emigrated from the latter stream; and that they have, in the manner that I have already stated, with many of their customs, bee[illegible]ved from the almost total destruction of the bold colonists of Madawc, who, I believe, settled upon and occupied for a century or so, the rich and fertile banks of the Ohio." He ends his remarks upon the subject by an allusion to his "brief vocabulary of the Mandan language" to which he refers the reader, "where he may compare it with that of the Welsh; and better, perhaps, than I can, decide whether there is any affinity existing between the two." That vocabulary is appended to this paper.

William Pidgeon, in his "Traditions of De-Coo-Dah, and Antiquarian Researches," published in 1853 (Thayer, Bridgman & Fanning, N. Y.; Sampson Low, Son & Co., London), relates in much detail his discoveries of earthworks in the upper Mississippi valley, and also in the region west of Prairie du Chein, in Iowa, as far west as the Missouri river and some distance up the latter stream, he having made various expeditions on such mission from 1840 to 1842, after having, in 1829, investigated many, if not most, of the famed monuments and earthworks in Ohio.

000

Pidgeon's belief, founded on his examinations of the mound-buiders' works and the traditions conveyed to him by De-Coo-Dah, that they evidenced civilizations more ancient than is generally supposed by most other students and investigators, was sincerely entertained. What he actually says of those earthworks, told of in much detail and forcefulness of narrative, fortified by a certain probity and candor of statement cannot fail to impress the reader. His reseaches, evidenced further by many illustrations, are, we believe, worthy of a higher place in the annals of ethnology and archeology than has generally been ascribed to them. He imputes none of the monumental remains in question to Welsh immigrants. But in what he states concerning the earthworks found by him in Iowa and along some eighty miles of the upper Missouri, embracing, it is believed, some territory in southeastern South Dakota, he furnishes further proofs of the existence in that locality of the work of prehistoric peoples who were not improbably of the Mound Builders. We therefore present the substance of what appears in his book on that head: (pp. 201-5.)

Pidgeon traversed the space between the Mississippi and the Missouri, in a systematic search for and examination of mounds, some truncated, some surrounded by or accompanied by effigies—mentioning also "serpentine ranges," "lineal ranges" and "intersectional ranges"—these indicating boundaries, international or otherwise, are seats of tribes, in his belief; starting near the Turkey river in the neighborhood of Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, and proceeding in a general western direction, and describing local landmarks and physical characteristics identifiable by others, reaching finally a grove "about three miles east of the Missouri river, and I discovered no other works between it and the river." He then proceeds:

Mounds On Upper Missouri. "Then I proceeded up the Missouri for four successive days, traveling about twenty miles a day, passing many truncated mounds of various dimensions. Among these I noticed one constructed in a serpentine form (Cut H, Fig. 2*) about a central effigy resembling a tortoise. In this I made three excavations. The central work presented, near the surface summit, coal and ashes; but the serpentine work contained no deposit. I found no other work in the immediate vicinity; but, about twelve miles northwest, I discovered a group, the

000 arrangement of which is shown in cut V, Fig. 4.[8] I have frequently discovered this arrangement in Indiana and Illinois, destitute, however, of the elongated mound which is here appended. There are many serpentine effigies of small dimensions in those regions; their common order or arrangement is represented in cut H, Figs. 1 and 3.[9] Figure 1 represents the range of truncated mounds west of the Mississippi river, in an arrangement which I have found nothing exactly resembling on the east side of that river, although the serpentine effigy is found far east, in Ohio in the intermediate space east of Illinois. They are, however, exceedingly rare."

Different Customs. "In my excavations west of the Mississippi, I discovered no deposits indicating any greater advancement in the arts than is common among savage nations, notwithstanding the exactness of outline, correctness of proportion and symmetrical arrangement of many works. This leads me to the belief that the Mound Builders of the north were not in the habit of making deposits such as are found in Ohio, and the regions south, to Mexico, and indicates the prevailence of differing customs, if it does not attest distinct nationality. Many deposits found at the south presenting the known forms of the symbols of ancient idolatry, favors the conclusion that a change of religious belief, or the forms of idolatrous worship occurred among the Mound Builders of the south which those at the north did not experience."

Northern Earthworks Symbolical—Deposits. "That many of the forms of earthworks of the north are symbolical that they were connected with or related to the prevailing religion of the country, and that they were designed as symbols analogous to those exhibited in sculpture at the south, I entertain no doubt. This belief finds confirmation in the fact, that in those regions where effigies occur, sculptured deposits nowhere abound; and the deposit even of pottery, is very rare."

[8] A spiral, the inner end being smallest, the outer largest, representing two circuits around the effigy.

[9] A central effigy surrounded by an earthwork circle, around which are arrayed eight much smaller mounds equi-distant from the center and about six times as far away as the circle; along one side of which general group is a straight bank of earth.

[§]Representing, respectively, a serpent with tail wound up, and effigy mounds near tail and head, the body indicated by detached mounds; and a snake formed of a continuous bank-head detached. 000

Ignatius Donnelly, in "Atlantis," (Harper & Brothers, 1882, Edi. of 1902) in treating of the "Deluge Legends of America," refers to the Mandan Indians and their ceremonies of the flood, as affording evidence in support of his theory that the flood itself was not universal over the earth in its visitation, but was local, and that its manifestations marked the gradual subsidence of the alleged island of Atlantis in the eastern Atlantic region. He expressed the view that the "Big Canoe" of the Mandan ceremonies was commemorative of the Ark; that the Mandans were colonists from Atlantis; that the "Last Man" who appeared at the beginning of those ceremonies represented the white race; that the tradition of the Mandans regarding the emergence from "underground" refers to a land in the sea, viz., Atlantis, the sea being the "subterranean lake;" and that similar traditions among the Dakotas, Iroquois, etc., had like significance.

Samuel G. Drake, in his "Indians of North America" (published by John P. Alden, N. Y., 1880), and in his work entitled "Drake's Aboriginal Races of America," has given some attention to the Madocian theory and the alleged Welsh Indians, bible, etc.; and while he does not go at length into the discussion of the authorities and evidences—save in one or two instances—he cites many of the writers and travelers who have rendered accounts and given in their conclusions upon this subject; practically all of whom have already been referred to and quoted from in this paper. We will briefly refer to his treatment of the subject.

Samuel G. Drake's Views. In his "Indians of North America" Drake thus refers to an eastern Indian chief known as Madock:

"Some have endeavored to ground an argument upon the similarity of the name of this chief to that of Madock the Welshman, that the eastern Indians were descended from a Welsh colony, who, in 1170, left that country, and were never heard of after. The story of some white Indians speaking Welsh on the Missouri river has gained supporters in former and later periods." (p. 294.)

000 On page 54 of the same work Drake says, concerning how these Indians came by books, as follows:

How Welsh Came by Books? "It is very natural to inquire how these Indians, though descended from the Welsh, came by books; for it is well known that the period at which the Welsh must have come to America, was long before printing was discovered, or that any writing assumed the form of books as we now have them. It should be here noted that Mr. Beatty traveled in the autumn of 1766.

"Major Rogers, in his 'Concise Account of North America,' published in 1765, notices the white Indians; but the geography of their country he leaves anywhere west of the Mississippi; probably never having visited them himself, although he tells us he had traveled very extensively in the interior."

Drake then refers to and quotes somewhat from Rogers, among other statements the following: "They ("White Indians" west of Mississippi) "have, however, Indian eyes, and a certain guilty Jewish cast with them," and later quoting him further to the effect that they had "between twenty and thirty thousand fighting men"—a gross exaggeration no doubt, he quotes further: "They have no weapons but bows and arrows, tomahawks, and a kind of wooden pikes," and thus suffer from eastern Indians who have firearms, "and frequently visit the white Indians on the banks of the easterly branch, (of Muddy river?) and kill or captivate them in great numbers," live in large towns, are agriculturists, "tame the wild cows, and use both their milk and flesh," keep numerous dogs "and are very dexterous in hunting; they have little or no commerce with any nation that we are at present acquainted with." Drake then cites Filson; and Ker, of whom he says:

"Henry Ker, who traveled among thirteen tribes of Indians, in 1810, etc., names one near a great mountain which he calls Mnacedeus. He said Dr. Sibley had told him, when at Natchitoches, that a number of travelers had assured him, that there was a strong similarity between the Indian language and many words of the Welsh. Mr. Ker found nothing among any of the Indians to indicate a Welsh origin until he arrived among the Mnacedeus. Here he found many customs which were Welsh, or common to that people, and he adds: 'I did not understand the

Welsh language, or I should have been enabled to have thrown 000 more light upon so interesting a subject,' as they had, 'printed books among them which were preserved with great care, they have a tradition that they were brought there by their forefathers.' Upon this in another place he observes, 'The books appeared very old, and were evidently printed at a time when there had been very little improvement made in the casting of types. I obtained a few leaves from one of the chiefs, sufficient to have thrown light on the subject, but in my subsequent disputes with the Indians, I lost them, and all my endeavors to obtain more were ineffectual.' "

From some accounts of Ker's character as to credibility, we are led to doubt somewhat his strict veracity concerning what he actually saw of these Indians. He seems not to have made an attempt to locate with any precision where he found the "Mnacedeus." Little credibility would seem to be warranted as to his particulars regarding "printed books" which "were brought there by their forefathers," if we were to take him literally.

Drake, in his "Aboriginal Races of North America," pp. 52-55, quotes under the head of "Welsh or White Indians," the "Narrative of Capt. Isaac Stuart," already brought out herein. Drake then refers to the Beatty account of Sutton Hicks, the Virginia clergyman, and Filson, and after asserting that Ker gives no opinion as to "how or at what time these Indians obtained 'printed books,' " he thus summarizes his deductions in the premises—using identical language in both of his said works:

"There are a great number of others who have noticed these Indians; but after an examination of them all, I am unable to add much to the above stock of information concerning them. Upon the whole, we think it may be pretty safely said, that the existence of a race of Welsh about the regions of the Missouri does not rest on so good authority as that which has been adduced to establish the existence of the sea-serpent. Should any one, however, choose to investigate the subject further, he will find pretty ample references to authors in which the subject had been noticed, in a note to the life of Madok-wando, in our third book. In addition to which, he may consult the authorities of Moulton, as pointed out in his history of New York."

It is seen that Drake draws no conclusions upon this subject;

080 unless, indeed, his reference to the sea-serpent can be regarded as indicating a distinct dissent.

Chamber's Encyclopedia On Madoc. In the American revised edition of that work (Lippincott, 1880), it is stated that it "is believed by his countrymen" that Prince Madoc "discovered America about 300 years before Columbus." And after stating the traditional account, that he sailed westward "with a small fleet, and after a voyage of several weeks, reached a country whose productions and inhabitants were quite unlike those of Europe. Here he lived for a long time; then returning to Wales, he gave an account of the new land that he had discovered, equipped another fleet, set sail again, and was never more heard of;" citing Caradoc, translated by Lloyd; "corrected, augmented, and continued by David Powell (London, 1584).—It is added: "There is considerable reason for suspecting the genuineness of this Welsh tradition."

Dr. Davies' Statement. In response to a letter from Mr. DeLand to Dr. E. Gomer Davies, of Letcher, S. D., early in 1906, the latter replied as follows, in regard to a suggestion that he (Dr. D.) was supposed to have some information concerning some alleged Welsh Indians with whom an acquaintance of his had come in contact in the west during the civil war:

Welsh Indians In West—Coracles—Jaru. "All I know about the matter of the Welsh Indians is this, a man of the name of John Owen, a native of Llanidloes, and who had worked for my father for many years came to this country during the civil war and joined the army and while out at one of the posts in the west found what he called white Indians that could speak Welsh, that is as he explained it, they used a large number of words and called things by the same name as John Owen, he wrote a full account of the matter and sent it home and my father had it published in the home paper and sent me a copy of the paper, and he said in connection that an old chief stood by his side as he wrote the account and that they felt very friendly towards him as he could understand them and they could understand him. He said among the large number of words that he wrote about the following are a few that I remember: Tan-Fire, Dant-Teeth, Egwgnt-wind, Dwr-water, Hayl-sun; and he mentioned, if I remember aright between seventy-five and 100 words which correspond in sound to our Welsh words, and another interesting statement he made was that the white Indians (they were whiter than other Indians, so he said), made and used a corracle such as we used in Wales. It is composed of a tough wooden frame covered over with hides and round, not oblong or very slightly oblong, and also that they spun woolen yarn similar to Welsh yarn, this is about the recollection of what John Owen (stated) and my father's comments to me after he talked with him when he returned home to North Wales." 000

Published In Wales. "N. B. Nearly forty years has passed since my father wrote about it and sent me a paper containing the words and statements. To the best of my recollection he did not state the name of the tribe, and yet I cannot now speak positively on that point. D."

Dr. Davies gave the writer the following additional information:

"The paper was one that was published in my native town of Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, by John H. Mills, but it has been discontinued for some years now. ** John Owen must be over 80 or 85 years of age by this time if he is alive, he worked for my father for many years, he was a man of 35 to 40 when I was a little boy. I believe the name of the paper in which John Owen's narrative was printed was called the Llanidloes and Montgomeryshire Times, but quite sure I have not seen a copy for many years."

Chambers Encyclopedia. In the American revision of that work (1880, Vol. 6, p. 250) we find the following account of Madoc:

Madoc's Countrymen Believe. "Madoc, son of Owen Gwynnedd, a Welsh prince, is believed by his countrymen to have discovered America about 300 years before Columbus. Compelled, it is said, by civil strife to abandon his native land, he sailed westward in 1170, with a small fleet, and after a voyage of several weeks, reached a country whose productions and inhabitants were quite unlike those of Europe. Here he lived for a long time, then returning to Wales, he gave an account of the new land that he had discovered, equipped another fleet, set sail again, and was never more heard of. The story of Madoc will be found in the Historie of Cambria, now called Wales, a part of the

000 famous Yland of Brytaine, written in the Brytish language 200 years past by Caradoc; translated into English by H. Lloyd, gent.; corrected, augmented, and continued by David Powell (London, 1584). See also Owen's British Remains (1777). There is considerable reason for suspecting the genuineness of this Welsh tradition. ** Southey has chosen the story of Madoc as the subject of one of his so-called 'epics.' "

Bonhomme Island Earthworks. Lewis and Clarke give the following account of some noted earthworks on that island, located some nine miles above Yankton, S. D., on the Missouri:

"This interesting object is on the south side of the Missouri, opposite the upper extremity of Bonhomme island, and in a low level plain, the hills being three miles from the river. It begins by a wall composed of earth, rising immediately from the bank of the river and running in a direct course S. 76 degrees, W. 96 yards; the base of this wall or mound is seventy-five feet, and its height about eight. It then diverges in a course S. 84 degrees W. and continues at the same height and depth to the distance of fifty-three yards, the angle being formed by a sloping descent; at the junction of these two is an appearance of a hornwork, of the same height with the first angle; the same wall then pursues a course N. 69 degrees W. for three hundred yards; near its western extremity is an opening or gateway at right angles to the wall, and projecting inwards; this gateway is defended by two nearly semi-circular walls placed before it, lower than the large walls; and from the gateway there seems to have been a covered way communicating with the interval between these two walls; westward of the gate, the wall becomes much larger, being about one hundred and five feet at its base, and twelve feet high; at the end of this high ground wall extends for fifty-six yards on a course N. 32 degrees W.; it then turn N. 23 degrees W. for seventy-three yards; these two walls seem to have had a double or covered way; they are from ten to fifteen feet eight inches in height, and from seventy-five to one hundred and five feet in width at the base; the descent inwards being steep, whilst outwards it forms a sort of glacis. At the distance of seventy-three yards, the wall ends abruptly at a large hollow place much lower than the general level of the plain, and from which is some indication of a covered way to the water.

000

"The space between them is occupied by several mounds scattered promiscuously through the gorge, in the center of which is a deep round hole. From the extremity of the last wall, in a course N. 32 degrees W. is a distance of ninety-six yards over the low ground, where the wall recommences and crosses the plain in a course N. 81 degrees W. for eighteen hundred and thirty yards to the bank of the Missouri. In this course its height is about eight feet, 'till it enters at the distance of five hundred and thirty-three yards, a deep circular pond of seventy-three yards diameter; after which it is gradually lower, towards the river; it touches the river at a muddy bar, which bears every mark of being an encroachment of the water, for a considerable distance; and a little above the junction ,is a small circular redoubt. Along the bank of the river, and at eleven hundred yards distance, in a straight line from this wall, is a second, about six feet high, and of considerable width; it rises abruptly from the bank of the Missouri, at a point where the river bends, and goes straight forward, forming an acute angle with the last wall, 'till it enters the river again, not far from the mounds just described, towards which it is obviously tending. ** During the whole course of this wall or glasis, it is covered with trees, among which are many large cotton trees two or three feet in diameter. Immediately opposite the citadel, or the part most strongly fortified, on Bonhomme island, is a small work in a circular form, with a wall surrounding it, about six feet in height. ** The citadel contains about twenty acres, but the parts between the long walls must embrace nearly five hundred acres.

"These are the first remains of the kind which we have had an opportunity of examining; but our French interpreters assure us, that there are great numbers of them on the Platte, the Kanzas, the Jacques, etc.; and some of our party say, that they observed two of these fortresses on the upper side of the Petit Arc creek,* not far from its mouth; that the wall was about six feet high, and the sides of the angles one hundred yards in length." (The Travels of Lewis and Clarke, London, 1815, Vol. 1, pp. 85 to 89.)

*Some ten or twelve miles below Yankton, S. D., and about twenty miles below the Bonhomme island earthworks, on the northerly side of the Missouri.

Fowke Opposes Madocian Account. Gerard Fowke, in "Archaeological History of Ohio" (O. St. Hist. Soc., Columbus, O., 1902).

000 who has gathered a large amount of materials bearing upon the Mound Builders of Ohio and, incidentally and somewhat casually, upon the Madocian theory ,and who cites among others some witnesses in favor of those accounts, not mentioned herein, concludes that the theory that the Mandans migrated from east of the Mississippi, "though it may never be disproved, is not to be accepted;" that no articles have been found in "one of the larger mounds of Ohio, under circumstances that put beyond question the fact of its being deposited by the original builders, ** of such pattern or material as to prove incontestably that it was obtained from Europeans;" yet that "how much earlier" than 1492 some of those mounds may have been erected "it is impossible to ascertain."

We had prepared, partly by condensation, partly by quotations therefrom, a detailed tratment of Fowke's valuable work on this subject; but the dimensions of the present paper became such that it is necessary to dispense with that prepared material, no more than a mere summary which can not but be lamentably inadequate can be inserted. Fowke being the latest commentator we have examined, his attitude was regarded by the writer of this paper as representative of the negative in the Madocian discussion; with the expectation of criticising some of his views and conclusions. For we believe his evidences fail to warrant them in some vital respects. It is, however, impossible to do so in any satisfactory manner within the space left to us.

Fowke's theory seems to be that the Mound Builders' works in Ohio are not very ancient; were constructed by American aborigines of different tribes and characteristics; and on an assumed and arbitrary basis of 1,000 men working 300 days in a year he concludes that all the Ohio earthworks could be constructed in a century, proving nothing. Again he asserts, to show they are not so ancient that buffalo bones have been found in them in but few instances, and those further west, yet he quotes as a factual premise Shaler's statement that "about a thousand years or so ago" buffalo "first appeared in the Ohio valley," and that "their mounds and forts were abandoned as far as this epoch—making beast extended his march;" again, that there is proof "that the buffalo was known to builders of mounds from Dakota, ** to the Blue Ridge." Further on he theoretically extends the period to

500

the modern era, declaring: "It is now well known that many tribes were builders of mounds in quite recent times; but none of their remains are to be compared with those of Ohio." We are not sure where his reasoning on his evidences leaves his theory as to the antiquity of the Ohio earthworks. They are surely ancient enough to satisfy the Madocian theory if their builders might have been driven out by buffalo "a thousand years or so ago." Again: While unsatisfied that the Mound Builders of Ohio had any connection with those further northwest, he yet declares of the mounds explored by Henderson on the Illinois river that his description "of their situation, construction and contents would apply equally to many of the tumuli in southern Ohio," but he is unwilling to "affirm or deny" a connection "merely because of the resemblance of the works;" while "it is easier to believe them related in some way or at least having some knowledge of each other, than to suppose the striking similarities are entirely accidental." Thinks some effigy pipes found in mounds a mile below Davenport, Iowa, "quite similar to those found in Ohio mounds," "may have been obtained in trade. But it is quite probable that a number of Ohio Mound Builders wandered into the region of the Mississippi and remained there." (Pidgeon, we found, traced mounds from thence west to and up the Missouri.) And while Fowke declares the Bonhomme island earthworks have "nothing whatever to do with Ohio archeology," yet he copies Lewis and Clarke's entire text on that subject, then goes into lengthy discussion of their details, and concludes: "There is nothing in Ohio approaching these remains in magnitude, except, perhaps, the works at Newark." In another connection he declares that, as to effigy mounds in Ohio, save "Serpent Mound," "the few effigies are inferior in size and interest to those of the northwest; the same is true of the flat-topped mounds." As to Madoc's alleged voyages, Fowke seems to speak lightly and somewhat flippantly regarding "various stories concerning red-haired Indians who speak Welsh" and of Madoc "or Medoc who sailed west from Wales about 1170 and was never afterwards heard of;" and dismisses the book phase by observing, as to "printed books," that printing had not then been invented, etc., thus omitting, in stating the case itself, that all accounts tell of Madoc's returning after his

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 first voyage, and that various accounts refer to what may have been other than "printed" books. Finally, Fowke says: "When possible descendants of the Mound Builders are sought among known tribes, search seems narrowed to Cherokees and Mandans; *** the later because they differ much in appearance and customs from other Indians, constructed heavy walls, and made houses whose ruins resemble small enclosures in Ohio." He then adds: "Catlin's theory of their migration from the east of the Mississippi, though it may never be disproved, is not to be accepted; tor it is based solely on the occurrence of mounds and enclosures which may as well be due to other, and unknown people." But if their "ruins resemble small enclosures in Ohio," why deny a connection here which he (Fowke) acknowledges as naturally inferable in other instances?

Fowke would have proof "beyond question"—would demand of narrator to "prove incontestibly" that many articles found in the mounds, bearing on inspection strong probabilities of, and many of which by common consent were of foreign make, were "obtained from Europeans." As well ask him to prove in the same degree that they were made in America, or that they were placed there by whites after the Cabotian discovery of America—for John Cabot, not Columbus, "discovered" North America if not previously discovered. And as to Cabot, the founder of England's claims in America, "even the reality of his voyage has been denied," says Bancroft. How would Marco Polo's fame stand in such an exacting forum? For two centuries people, until aroused through the Renaissance to faith in enterprise and its products, "inclined to deem an impudent imposter" that hero. If we were to demand comparison of evidences as betwen Cabot and Madoc as discoverers of America mainland, wherein would consist the great preponderance in favor of Cabot? Would future verification, on independent evidence, vindicate the one and reject the other? Where would stand the comparison upon **evidences found on this continent** tending to support the claims of each? But Cabot returned to England and reported discovery of a continent. Good. Madoc went **west** and to south of Ireland, and reported finding a "country," went again the same way. Where is the "proof incontestible" that Cabot did and that Madoc did not find America?

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fowke declares that any seafaring race, "in any part of the world, may have reached America from either direction, under * * * "favorable winds, of sufficient duration; vessels strong enough to resist any storm they were destined to encounter; and a food supply adequate to support the crews until they could reach the land." Then adds: "It remains to be proven whether there was ever such a concurrence of conditions prior to the tenth century." Were the Madocians "destined to encounter" extreme storms? What proof "beyond question" here? And, presumptively, are those unfavorable winds which are encountered journeying from Europe to America? And why doubt Welsh marines' or Eric's forethought to provision for a long trip? And does he regard it possible that "such a concurrence of conditions" can ever be "proven?" We mean no disrespect to Fowke's views on this head. But where does he stand upon his own hypotheses?

Blue Eyes. The author of this paper has it from entirely credible sources that the Sioux of the upper Missouri country have a tradition that the Mandans "have blue eyes."

We cannot for want of space revert, however briefly, to the Aricaras, as indicated at the beginning of this part of our treatment of the Aborigines of South Dakota; although some new light has been shed upon those tribes since 1906.

Author's Conclusions. The evidences of earliest and later observers, brought herein, show the Mandans more civilized than, and possessing a marked and peculiar gentility and polish not found among other western Indians. Their light complexion and the decided variation in many individual instances, from other Indians in general in the color of their eyes and hair, all attracting immediate attention; their peculiar modes of dressing their hair and caring for their health; their unquestioned and immemorial agricultural proclivities; their entrenched, palisaded villages and elaborate, semi-civilized lodges; their peacefulness and their friendliness towards the whites; their language, resembling in so many words the Welsh; their religious ceremonies, embodying also the "Ark," flood legends and (as believed by some keen observers) the Crucifixion; all seem to proclaim them Indians into whose composition white blood entered long before known colonization found them in America.

600 That they are of Siouan origin has not been satisfactorily shown.

We believe it is proven beyond rational doubt that they came to the upper Missouri from below, and not from the northeast. Bands of them were doubtless met and fought with the Christenaux, Assiniboines and other tribes in the southwestern Winnipeg basin at or about the dawn of the historic age; but no substantial evidence is at hand making it probable that they as a nation or principal tribe ever had a territorial seat there. Other bands of them may have ascended the Missouri to near its headwaters—this point is perhaps debatable; but no substantial evidence is produced tending to show that they came as a body from the west to the upper Missouri. What are, with little doubt, Mandan village remains, some of which at least were later occupied by the Aricaras, have been traced into South Dakota, and we think it very probable that Catlin's claim that he found them down the Missouri to near the Ohio river is well founded. The vast, seemingly overwhelming preponderance favors the view that they ascended the Missouri from as far south at least as the Big Sioux river. That they once inhabited South Dakota we regard as certain. They may, and we think probably did ascend the Missouri from as far down as the mouth of the Ohio; but this claim takes us upon infirm ground if the Missouri is regarded as necessarily the beginning of their pathway northward. For, while we are strongly inclined to believe their ancestors once lived as far south as Ohio and upon or near that stream, they may, in that event have gone westward from a point above the Ohio's mouth. If they ascended the upper Mississippi before they migrated farther west, such evidence as is extant on that head indicates that they descended that stream some distance from its head-waters before going thence westward. Their traditions, while as generally understood confining their locus to the upper Missouri and the immediate vicinity of Heart river, yet contain decided sugestions that the seacoast at the Mississippi's mouth, or on the Atlantic seaboard, or (much less likely we think) some large lake, was the point of the original movement inland. The theory of their extreme southern origin is, in our view, borne out in a substantial degree by what is known of the Pawnees and their one-time tribesmen, the Aricaras, and of the relations of the latter to the movement northward of the Mandans, the trend of tradition and of historic evidence being that the Rees followed them from far down the Missouri; and we have seen the collateral statements and claims which tend to show the Pawnees (Panis), Kansans, and other southern tribes, in connection with the Mandans, to have been woven into the warp and woof of the Madocian theory.

When we enter the specific field of Welsh origin of the Mandans, we confess to a tendency to credulity which is expressed with much temerity and considerable diffidence. We are in substantial degree short of being convinced. But the evidences gathered into or referred to in this paper, touching directly and as indicated at the beginning of this summary, indirectly, the Madocian theory, have impressed us to the extent of making it clear that there is enough of probability in the claim to warrant its treatment historically, and to demand further and systematic investigation by historical societies in particular and the public in general. The writer feels that his duty—following an earnest study of this question, as time permitted, for many years—would be left undone were he to withhold here an urgent request for co-operative effort along the lines indicated. It may seem to students of history and others who may be specially interested, that the lapse of a century and a half of investigation and discussion of this very interesting and fateful question must have substantially exhausted the materials and the exchange of views thereon tending to enforce conviction. Far from it. There has been next to no co-operative work done by either historical or other responsible or authoritative bodies looking to a reduction of known and the discovery of unknown but probable further evidential materials on this subject, in a thorough process calculated to make out a complete case, for or against the claims of Welsh settlement and inhabitancy in America resulting from Madoc's voyages. The discrediting of that theory in the first quarter of the nineteenth century can not be regarded as at all conclusive. Where did the Welshman Evans, who supposedly went west of the Mississippi about the beginning of the last century and who is said to have concluded that those claims were without foundation—go, what Indian tribes supposed to be "Welsh" or "white Indians," did he visit, and where? And as

000 to language, who that was master of the Welsh tongue and of the language and dialect of any Indian tribe supposed to be in some degree of Welsh origin ever visited such tribe, or even attempted to do any comprehensive work in comparing their language with the ancient or the modern Welsh, in pursuit of a responsible study of the subject? We have learned of no one. What united work has been done, under any definite scheme of investigation into the mounds and tumuli referred to in this paper, in connection with the Madocian question?

We emphasize the point that such manifold, widely separated and independent instances of facility of conversation by Welshmen in their own language with certain tribes of American Indians, as has been shown in the foregoing evidences to have occurred from the earliest contact with them, are not to be dismissed as explainable on the theory of fortuitous concurrence of substantially identical words in the various tongues involved. We regard them as strongly tending to establish a common language and blood origin between the Welsh and a once civilized element which became identified with certain aboriginal tribes. This power of word-interchange with Welshmen was not common to all or nearly all American Indians. It was subject of wonderment and wide remark and discussion among both whites and Indians. It was universally regarded by both participants, and by very many non-participants of high intelligence who discussed the fact, as indicative of a common origin.

It seems not improbable that Madoc reached and settled, with some part of his expeditions, in North America. That some of his followers landed on the South American coast, or emigrated into South America from northward, seems, from the evidences regarding early civilizations there, to be more than merely possible; that there is evidence of probative character that Mexico may have been the theatre of growth and dominance of a civilization derived from a Welsh origin, and that the mounds of Ohio and of Mexico are not unrelated in origin or development. The fact that Madoc was never heard of in Europe after sailing on his second (perhaps third) voyage would, if explainable on the theory of his settlement on the American mainland, reduce very materially the improbabilities of his alleged discovery. We incline strongly to believe it explainable; that in substantial de-

000

gree it is explained by evidences showing the extreme difficulties of Welsh existence and defense among the aborigines who, finding the discoverers east of the Alleghanies—either working westward or having come from the southwest, up the Mississippi and Ohio into the head-waters of the latter—drove them westward and down the Ohio, at or near the mouth of which they dispersed to southward, northward and southwestward; that in that process the immigrants found themselves powerless to do more than preserve mere existence and were unable to again return to Wales—or the hopelessness of Madoc's ascendency in fatherland, owing to dire internal quarrels and butcheries prevailing there, may have determined him to refrain for years from making known to his countrymen his further discoveries in a new world wherein he might expect to become dominant and to gain vast territorial estates, and that later on, whether he willed or not, circumstances made it impossible for him to report to Europe; that those immigrants were forced, as a condition to their continued existence, to intermarry with the Indians, thereby losing measurably the racial Welsh element, which dwindled in succeeding centuries and became subservient to the Indian instinct and trend. In this connection consider that near four and a half centuries later the Virginia colonists of 1607, although succored for a time by the promoting company, were in 1610 so reduced that "the horrors of famine ensued," piracy was being resorted to to sustain existence, and "if relief had been delayed but ten days longer, they must have perished." Might not a few redoubtable hearts among them—failing such relief—have survived as members of an Indian tribe, when, in Bancroft's words, "parties, which begged food in the Indian cabins, were murdered?" And had they so survived, and no European aid had come for generations, what but such an amalgamation as Catlin ascribes to the Mandans could have been their fate?

We here bid farewell to the Mandans as related to this study—the most enticing among all Indian annals that we have met. Their ascribed relation to the claims that European blood mingled with American aborigines as the result of twelfth century immigration, holds first place among historians. Their station among Indians in all the great west is supreme, if innate graces of character reflecting Christian civilization is the dominant note.

Their place among the aborigines of the northwest, in the process of its settlement and development by pioneers, is so large that to eliminate the "Mandan villages" from the records of those processes would leave a void indeed. They constitute the mystery of ages in North American Indian lore as to locus of origin. If the future shall reveal that that mystery can be solved through the medium of further light on the Mound Builders, or of Madocians as collateral to them, the resultant must become deeply significant and intensely interesting. And if in A. D. 2170 no national celebration of Madoc's credited discovery shall occur, nor the song of Southey be revived; still the mystery itself will continue to grow in wonderment and splendor until its contemplation will have become a spirit of the Epics.

APPENDITORY NOTES.

[1] Nameless in the codices, and shown on neither map; Burnt island of Warren's; Sibley's island of the G. L. O. map, 1879; very large, in the river between Bismarck (Burleigh) and Morton Cos. (Coues, 173.)

[2] Nameless, and uncharted. Little Heart or Sturgis river of various maps, in Morton Co. Little Heart and Sugar-loaf buttes just south of it.

[3] Very plain on Clarke's map, 1814, immediately underneath the word "and" of the sentence there inscribed. There is now nothing of the sort; instead of which is a considerable lake, indicating the change in the course of the Missouri. This is in McLean Co., above Sanger (Oliver Co.), and below Washburn (McLean Co.), in the vicinity of which later town today's camp is pitched, after passing Deer creek, left, and Painted Wood and Turtle creek, right. (Coues.)

[4] At this, the eighth mile made today, Clarke C 63 inserts: "Fort Mandan stard" in a bold hand, over an erasure made for this latter entry, i. e., noting the exact spot where the fort was presently built, just above the bluff of coal. (Coues.)

[5] This is a vague term, due or at least traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchewan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as living about the falls of the south branch of that river. He says (p. 197) that the French "call them Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; and without any reason, as they are as comely and as well made as any tribe whatever, and are very far from being remarkable for their corpulency." On which Matthews, from which I borrow this quote, remarks (p. 33): "The tribe to which he refers is doubtless that which is now known as the Atsinas or Gros Ventres of the Prairie. The similarity of the Canadian misnomers led Captain Lewis in 1804, to speak of the Minnetaries on the Missouri 'as part of the great nation called Fall Indians.' Comparing our Hidatsa words with their synonymes in Umfreville's Fall Vocabulary, or Dr. Hayden's later Atsinas Vocabulary, we can discover no affinity between the Fall and Hidatsa tongues." It is necessary for the reader to bear always in mind, that when Lewis and Clarke speak of Minnetarees "of the Prairie" and "of the Missouri," they actually designate two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the "Fall" Indians, and the later being the Hidatsas, with whom we are now wintering. Their loose use of "Gros Ventres" is exactly parallel. For example, see beyond, Jan. 1st, 1805, and note there. These "Fall"

Indians are separately treated by Lewis in the Statistical View. He adopts this name there, and gives the native name A.lan-sar- as synonymous. He estimates their total number at 2,500, with 660 warriors and 260 lodges, and locates them "on the head of the south fork of the Saskashawan (sic) river, and some streams supposed to be branches of the Missouri," (perhaps of Milk river). (Coues.)

[6] Espontoon, or esponton, is a rare and practically obsolete form of spontoon, a word itself now little used. The implement meant is the half-like ax sort of halberd formerly used by certain officers of the British army. Lewis and Clarke, 165, gives a neat figure of the Mandan implement, which is fortunate, as the text is not clear. The blade is 12 or 15 inches long, set at right angles in a handle of the same length; the shape of the blade, viewed flat, is a narrow lozenge (like the diamond at cards), sharp at the point, the other end eyed to receive the handle; it is pierced with four holes set in the same diamond figure, and the slant of the two sides of the diamond next to the eyed end results in part from nicking off from each edge a strip of the metal and curling this strip backward. (Coues.)

[7] "Sheet iron callaboos," interlined "camboose, stove," Lewis and Clarke, 166. Camboose and cambouse are rare forms of caboose, and this from the Dutch name of a ship's gally, or cook's room aboard a vessel; but it is not related to calaboose, which latter word is supposed to be of Arabic derivation, and means a slave-pen. The article which proved so valuable a resource was simply an old sheet-iron cooking stove, which had been burnt out in ascending the Missouri. (Coues.)

[8] Such "skin canoes" are commonly called bull-boats, from being made of buffalo hide; they are well known for the ease and security with which they may be used. (Coues.)

[9] Codex M. ends with the account of August 14th, page 146, though a few pages of meteorological register continue. The last remark is "see next book." This next book is Clark N., beginning with August 15th, and thus directly continues. On reaching the Mandans, Lewis and Clarke just missed the Mr. Henry with whom they so much desired to communicate that they had intended to send Sargeant Pryor to his post on the Assiniboine. This gentleman had left Le Borgne's village July 29th, 1806, and camped next day on Miry river, as I see by his MS., now in my possession. (Coues.)

[10] The Henry M. S. has, page 76: We entered the great village of the Big Bellies, which consists of about 130 huts. Here we found Messrs. Charles McKenzie and James Cadwell, who had left Reviere La Souris (Mouse river) with a small assortment of goods in May last; both the young men in the service of the Northwest Co." Here is doubtless intended the Mr. McKenzie of note page 203, pages 226, 232, etc. (Coues.)

[11] Le Borgne feared nobody. The wily savage had not the slightest intention of going to Washington, and was simply amusing himself by talking "for buncombe." See pages 242-244. But better than the portrait drawn of him there is the account given by Mr. Henry, who was his guest, and was treated with every consideration. One-eye was a moral monster, but he had other Napoleonic qualities which might have made him an almost equally great soldier, had his sphere of action been equally extensive. Mr. Henry calls him "His Excellency LeBorgne," with unconcealed sarcasm, and says that he breathed more freely after bidding him good-by. I have heard that his real name was Kakoakis—which would be middling good Greek for Wicked Point—and that he was finally killed by a chief named Etamingehisha, or Red Shield; but I have mislaid the reference, and cannot now verify the statement. (Coues.)

[12] "Chis-che-tor river, Clark N., 13; now Heart river." (Coues.)

000

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS BY THE AUTHOR.

The author of the foregoing paper, and the State Historical Society of South Dakota, desire to acknowledge substantial aid rendered by co-workers in kindred organizations, or as individuals, in furnishing references, information, books, etc., for use in the preparation thereof; among whom may be named the following: Doane Robinson, secretary of our society, for many kindly and helpful acts in assisting in securing materials for valuable information furnished; E. R. Steinbroeck, Mandan; Rev. D. L. Hall, Elbowoods, N. D.; Rev. D. L. Hall, Rosebud, S. D., and Joseph H. Taylor, of Washburn, N. D.; Dr. Charles H. Eastman, St. Paul; Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, Pierre, for books loaned, and information; American Missionary Association, N. Y., for cuts loaned; for information, Dr. E. Gomer Davies, Letcher, S. D.; Hon. Olin D. Wheeler, St. Paul; Simon F. Kirk, Little Eagle, S. D.; for information and references, Hon. Douglass Brymner, and Hon. Albert F. Doughty, Canadian Archivists. Ottawa; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and Reuben Gold Thwaites; Minnesota Historical Society, and Warren Upham, secretary; Macalester College Library, and Frederic G. Axtell, secretary; Dr. W. H. Holmes, Chief of American Bureau of Ethnology, and Dr. F. W. Hodge, acting chief; Missouri Historical Society, and Miss Mary Louise Dalton (now deceased), secretary; Albert Britnel, Toronto; Gerard Fowke, St. Louis; for valuable courtesies extended as publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Co.; Francis P. Harper.

ADDENDA.

Since the completion of the foregoing article, the author has been afforded an opportunity of an examination of the work by Will and Spinden on the Mandans; and deeming it well worthy of mention herein, we have prepared a brief reference to some of the salient points brought out therein, which will be found below: 114

G. H. Will and H. J. Spinden. These gentlemen, being Harvard University students of the class of 1906, explored in part an old Mandan village site fourteen miles above Bismarck on the east bank of the Missouri in 1905, on behalf of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology; which labor is in part the subject of their "Papers," etc., published by that museum (Cambridge, Mass.) in 1906, under the title "The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Language." The work, which shows considerable study and research and is a highly interesting and instructive study of the subject treated of, deals, in three parts, of the "History, Life and Customs;" the "Archaeology;" and the "Language" of the Mandans. The illustrations are very faithful, and comprise the various specimens of pottery, implements, etc., found in said village site, and several illustrations of Mandan village sites visited by them in that locality. Part III ends with a valuable vocabulary of Mandan words compiled from Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft; all of which vocabularies, they assert, came from James Kipp. The authorities relied on by them in regard to the general characteristics of the Mandans are the well known travelers and others among the classics, brought out in this paper. As pertains to the original habitat of the Mandans, these authors assert that previous to living upon the Missouri "they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley;" that that valley "would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations"—the language of the Mandans being regarded by them as "unquestionably of Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock;" that "information upon the Mandan language is exceeding scarce and no very accurate or full gram-

[p. 729]

114 matical sketch exists." They dwell upon the lightness and other peculiarities of complexion of the Mandans, stating: "There can be little question that there was a tendency toward light complexion among the Mandans, and all of the authorities, even Maximilian, express the opinion that this was not from contact with the whites;" and while declaring it "difficult to decide" as to the cause of these peculiarities, they add: "It is almost needless to say that there is absolutely no trace either in language or in physical characteristics of any European origin or admixture." No professed study of this latter question seems to have been made by those worthy authors, so far as we are able to judge from said publication. We regret that we did not have access to a copy of said work in time to have dealt with it in the proper place in the foregoing paper.

C

INDEX.

Page.

Aborigines of South Dakota, De Land, et seq. 275
Address, biennial 89
Affairs, public 76
Ah-hah-hee-no-pah 173
Ainsworth, Mrs. Cephas W., life 204
Ainsworth, Cephas W., sketch of 194
Ainsworth, Cephas W., photo 194
Ainsworth, Frank B. 194
Ainsworth, Stephen B. 197
Alair, Joseph 224
Alard, Mr. 219
Albany Law School 215, 219
Algonkins 145
Aliatans 177
All-ah-kaa-wiah 175
Allen Guard 213
Alsatien, Francois 221
American Co. 237
American Fur Co. 230
American Island 127
Anchor, photo of Viking 141
Angie, Harriet 259
  Henry, life of 258
  War 259
Annual Review 61
Anticosti 146
Antonio, Pedro 131
Appropriations, to state 63, 76
Aricaras 132
Arlington 75
Arts, fine 38-42
Arts, useful 37
Ashton 241
Assessed valuation 64, 78
Assiniboine 165, 233
Assistants 14
Astor, John Jacob 125
Ay-oo-wars 157
Bach, Land Commissioner 63
Bad Lands 192
Ball river 166
Barber, M. 187
Barley 70, 84
Batteau river 167
Battle Mountain Reservation 63
Bears ribs 226, 245
Beaumont 218
Bedard, Elie 219, 220, 227, 239, 241, 242, 252, 256
  Sophie 256
Bellechasse county 218
Belefontaine 133
Belle Fourche, irrigation project 63

Page.

Belonger, Francis 260
Benoist, Agatha 259
  Sorel 259
  Louis 259
Bercier, Francis 257
Biennial Address 89
Big Foot 192
Big Head 247
Big Horn river 172
Big Sioux 255
Bismarck 185, 208
Black mountains 176
Blackfoot 177
Bois, Bruil 178
Bourgois 221
B. P. O. E. 209
Brackenridge 135
Brazo, Victoria 259
Brooks, Lieutenant 188
Brouillard, John 223
Bruguier, Theophile 240, 242, 255, 256, 263, 270
  Photograph of 262
Brule opening 75
Buffalo 219
Buffalo Bill 188
Buffalo pasture 62
Building, private 64, 78
  Public 64, 77
Bullhead, Lieutenant Henry 187
Bureau of Information 15
Burlington railroad 61, 213
Burns, Mr. 219
Butler, General B. F. 213
Cabanne & Co. 132
Camp, diagram of Sitting Bull's 191
Canada 253
Cape Rouge 218
Capitol building 77
  Commission 63
  New 63
Cartier, Leander 259
Cassady, Mr. 241
Case, Ralph H. 101
Casoe-tite 175
Catalogue 16-57
Catch-the-Bear 190
Catteau river 178
Caucus Law 74
Chaine de Roche 243
Chamberlain, George 241
Champagne, Jean Baptiste 227
Chapel river 242
Chapin, Captain A. R. 188

000

[p. 731]

000

Page.

Charboneaux,, Alex............ 257
Charles. Polly................ 135
Charlesburg 218
Chase National Bank........... 198
Chein Indians................. 159
Chein river................... 159
Cheroqui 250
Cheyene Agency................ 257
Chicago 216, 219
Chippewas 145
Chittenden, H. M...........130, 258
Chouteau Company..........219, 236
Chouteau, Pierre.............. 121
Christian 144
Chuss-chu 166
Citidelle 230
Clark, George Rogers.......... 136
Clark, Malcolm.............227, 231
  Gov. William.....126, 128, 129
Claverack 213
Cleveland 209
C. & N. W. R. R............... 199
Codington 62
Collins, Treasurer............ 66
Committee, executive.......... 5
  Subordinate 5
Conde 61
Congressional Legislation..... 62
Constitutional Debates........ 11
Contre Coeur.................. 241
Cook, Dr...................241, 251
Corn Statistics, 1906......... 69
  1907 84
Corresponding members......... 6
Cortez 134
Cotes qui tremp peau.......... 244
Coues, Dr. Elliot.............. 216
Cournoyer, Bruno...........241, 260
Cox 242
Crawford, Coe I...........4, 73, 76
Crawler, photo................ 112
  Sacred stone of.......... 113
Crazy Bear.................... 233
Cresbard 62
Crogo 146
Crooked river................. 169
Crops 67
  1906 67-71
  1907 81-86
Crow 169
  Languages 172
Crouch line................... 61
Crowder, Lieutenant........... 188
Culbertson, Alexander......... 226
Dairying and poultry.........72, 85
Dakota 250
Dauphin Rapid................. 229
Davenport, W. B............... 63
Debates, Constitutional....... 11

Page.

Deceased members.............. 7
Deland, Charles E., Aborigines
  of South Dakota............. 275
  Notes 455
Denick, Mr.................... 233
Denver 208
Deon, Peter................... 260
De Roie, Stephen.............. 258
Desey, Louis.................. 260
Detroit 219
Dickson, Robert............128, 258
Dilber, Joseph................ 260
Disaster, mine................ 87
Division of Legislative Reference 10
Dorian, Pierre.............125, 223
Dog ....~~159~~, 165
Dotame 159
Drum, Lt. Col. William F...... 186
Duluth 208
Duncan 224
Dupius 223
Durham 213
Earthquake 67
Education 73, 87
Ehart-sah 173
Eldora 200
Elk Point..................... 259
Elrod, Governor Samuel......63, 73
Estimates, general............ 81
Eulogy ....
  ....Robert Eugene McDowell 101
Exchange, state............... 15
Executive committee........... 5
Fallas, Felecia............... 252
Fargo 208
Fauche 223
Faulk county.................. 62
Fechet, Col. E. G., photo..... 182
  Capture of Sitting Bull.. 185
Federal buildings............. 63
Finances general...........66, 80
  State 65, 80
  Statement 8
Flackville 197
Flatheads 173
Flax 70, 81
Florence 62
Floyd Monument................ 257
  Valley 240
Fort Benton...................
  ....220, 230, 232, 251, 256, 259
Fort Berthold..235, 236, 237, 239, 252
Fort Pierre....219, 228, 250, 255, 256
Fort Union....................
  ....227, 230, 233, 236, 237, 239, 251
Fort Vermillion............... 256
Fort Yates.................... 185

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

080

Page.
Frenchmen, early in Sioux City,
names 255, 260
French, Kathryn M., photo..... 118
Lisa, Manuel............. 255
Foulon 219
Gagon, Charles................ 260
Galarneaux, Anable.........240, 259
Gall 185
Gallery of Portraiture......... 14
Galpine, Charles E.............. 227
Gamble, Senator Robert J....... 73
Garo, Pierre.................... 237
Gault, Dr. F. B................. 72
General works...............16, 18
Gens-de-Corbeau 169
Gens-di-foulers 169
Gens-de-panse 170
Gens-de-rach 159
Gens-du-sang 231
Gens-de-valch 165
Glenham, railroad to........... 61
Gondron, Fedinand............. 260
Goths 142
Goulet, Henry.................. 260
Grand river.................... 188
Grignon, Louis.................. 128
Gros Ventres.......132, 465, 238, 230
Halladay, Auditor............... 63
Holsey 250
Hamilton 242
Hauge, Rev. Lars G., photo..... 128
Did Norsemen Visit Dakota Country?........... 139
Hay 71, 85
Health, public..................74, 87
Henry, Major Andrew........... 124
Hepburn, A. B.................. 197
History 46, 57
Hocchileaga 146
Honorary members............... 6
Hop 146
Hot Springs Sanitarium......... 63
Hudson River Institute......... 213
Hamel's Island.................. 229
Hunt, Wilson Price............. 125
Illustrations.
- Ainsworth, Cephas W.......... 194
- Anchor, Viking................ 141
- Bruguier, Theophile........... 262
- Crawler 112
- Crawler, sacred stone of...... 113
- Fechet, Col. E. G............. 182
- French, Kathryn M............. 118
- Hague, Rev. Lars J............ 128
- Kelly, Frances................. 108
- Letellier, Louis Dace......... 212
- Lisa, Manuel................... 120
- Marks, Constant R............. 214
- McDowell, Robert E............ 100

Page.
Munk's, winter houses on
Hudson Bay................ 145
Sterling, Thomas............. 90
Stone, Kensington............ 143
Sully, Old Fort................ 116
Immigration 64
Information, Bureau of.......... 15
I. O. O. F........................ 209
Iowa 250
Irrigation Project, Belle Fourche 62
Iron Horse....................... 225
Istaw Washty.................... 234
Jamesburg 200
Jefferson City.................. 241
Jensen, Kristian................ 144
Journal, Charles Le Raye...... 150
Larpenteur's 216
Journalism ....
Cephas W. Ainsworth 207
Juette, Joseph................... 260
Kaewas 165
Kales 164
Kananamesh 159
Kanzas 152
Kataka 159
Keeney, Mary Heamstead....... 135
Keet-keet-sah 173
Kelly, Frances, the rescue of.. 109
Kittredge, A. B.................. 73
Kipp, Captain.....236, 237, 253, 251
Kristeneaux 146
K.'s of P......................... 209
La Barge, Captain............... 256
La Blanc, Felix.................. 260
Labor question.................. 64
La-ca-sha-newatu 169
La Chapelle 243
La Charite, Francis............. 257
La Chine......................... 219
Lacont, Joeseph................. 259
Lafeuer, John.................... 260
Lafluer, Peter.................... 218
Lake Ontario..................... 219
Lamoureaux, Clement............
.... 240, 241, 242, 260
Lowe, John....................... 128
Lancaster 200
La Plant, Louis..............252, 255
La Plant, John Baptiste......... 259
La Plate 155
La Plat Cote D'Ours............. 226
Larpenteur's Journal............ 216
Layone, Peter.................... 260
Leavenworth 259
Le Barge, Joseph................ 220
Le Beau........................... 61
Leclerk, Kristian................ 147
Le Compte, Joseph.............. 259
Lescouis 146

050

Page.
Legislation, congressional....62, 79
  State 76
Leola 61
Letellier, Adelaide 218
  Blaise 218
  Captain Charles 218
  Ferdinand 218
  Gerome 218
  Henri 218
  Henrietta 218
  Louis Dace, photo 212
    Autobiography of 213
  Peter 218
Le Raye, Journal of 150
Letter of Transmittal 4
Library, state 15
Life members 6
Liondell, Francis 260
Lionnais, Joseph ....
  ....240, 241, 242, 252, 255, 256, 257
  Josephine 257
  Rosalie 257
Lisa, Manuel 121
  Biography of 121
  Manuel, Jr. 135
  Raymond 136
  Rosalie 135
  Sally 135
Lisbon 198
Literature 43
Little Sioux 156
Live stock 71
Liza, Fort 133
Lone Man 190
Madison 61
Mahas 159
Manclaire 177
Mandans 132, 167, 166
Mandans.
  Abysinian Chiefs 436
  Addenda 729
  Agriculture 'Corn Mother' 610
  Ahahaways 64, 286, 298, 350
  Algonquin 295, 544
  Amahami village 612
  American Fur Co. 300, 544, 635
  American Flag 364, 389
  American Missionary Association 728
  Annahwas 312
  Antelope hunts 593
  Apparel 537
  Apple creek 290, 347, 625
  Arapahoes 311
  Arcs 282
  Arickaras..280, 287, 290, 292, 296
    300, 301, 305, 308, 312, 327, 328
    537, 548, 598.
  Arickarees, below Ft. Pierre.. 294

Page.
Mandans—Continued.
  Arickaras, peace established by 354
  Arickaras, report from 371
  Arrow game 473
  Arrow points 367
  Ark 567, 609
  Arms and armor 411
  Art, ancient 616
  Aryan 619
  Assiniboel 282
  Assiniboines.....293, 279, 280, 281
    282, 285, 288, 307, 308, 312, 313
    314, 316, 321, 324, 325, 355, 431
    537, 598.
  Assiniboine river.....279, 307, 289
  Atsinas 286
  Author, acknowledgments 728
  Axtell, F. G. 728
  Aztec 276
  Bad Gun 629
  Bailey, Lieut. 295
  Baker, Mrs. 629, 631
  Ball river 339
  Baptiste, Jean 394
  Bardashes 548
  Baths, steam 601
  Baths, vapor 428
  Bathing place 426
  Battle Axe 367
  Brazilians 545
  Beads 374, 614
  Beads, glass 637
  Beads, pottery 545
  Bearded Whites 275
  Bear-on-the-Water 291, 641
  Bear's Ghost 291, 640
  Bear's Ghost's narrative 647
  Bellahsara 352
  Bertrand, J. B. 329
  Bienville's letter 327
  Big Double Medicine 473
  Big Cheyene 297
  Big Horn river 342
  Big Knife 283, 284, 288
  Big Man 647
  Big Sioux river 331
  Big White ....
    ...312, 313, 352, 383, 384, 388, 391
  Bismarck, N. D. ....
  278, 283, 287, 291, 297, 298, 299, 347
  Bismarck mound 625
  Black Buffalo Chief 372
  Blackburn, Dr. Wm. M. 313
  Black Cat ....
  ..351, 365, 368, 372, 379, 390, 395
  Blackfeet ....
    278, 425, 431, 433, 465, 531, 537,
    598.

000

Mandans—Continued.

Page.
Blackfoot tribe.................. 379
Black Hills................296, 593
Blackman, E. E................. 290
Blancs Barbus.................. 282
Black Shoe..................... 405
Blue Eyes...................... 721
Blumenback 549
Boats 545
Bodmer 589
Bogard, A...................... 519
Bois Brule Sioux............... 330
Bougainville 281
Brackenridge 402, 593
Brackenridge's Journal......... 403
Bradbury 401, 531
Brandon House.................. 394
Brave Raven.................... 377
Brazilians 531
British traders..........388, 617
Brochets 281
Brower, Jacob V..........282, 623
Brown hair..................... 403
Brule 343
Brule Sioux.................... 277
Britnell, Albert................ 728
British flag................... 359
Brymner, Hon. Douglas.......... 728
Buffalo 388
Buffalo chase.................. 363
Buffalo dance............365, 457
Buffalo festival............... 584
Buffalo hunts.................. 593
Buffalo meat................... 368
Buffalo on ice.................. 376
Buffalo skin, white............ 575
Bull dance..................... 502
Bureau of American Ethnology 303, 305
Burial ceremony................ 602
Burial scaffolds.........404, 418
Burleigh county................ 287
Caches or pits.................. 609
Cameron 372
Campbell 544
Canada 345
Cannon Ball river........296, 639
Canoes, skin................... 378
Cards, European playing........ 591
Catholic 633
Catlin..277, 278, 289, 292, 304, 439, 609, 612, 622, 722, 729.
Catlin, account of Mandans..... 406
Catlin's certificate............ 519
Catlin criticised............... 629
Catlin, inaccuracy............. 630
Catlin's medicine opposed...... 440
Catlin museum.................. 477
Catlin White medicine.......... 499

Mandans—Continued.

Page.
Caucasian 619
Ceautoin, Mr................... 378
Ceremony, Annual religious.. 490
Ceremonies, Four cardinal points 524
Ceremonies, Tortures........... 508
Ceremony, Okeepa.............. 609
Certificate, Catlin's........... 518
Chaboillez 395
Chaboneau.......379, 381, 530, 599
Characteristics 277, 530
Character misunderstood........ 433
Chein 336
Chiefs, noted............349, 421, 634
Chien river.................... 338
Cheyennes 294, 295, 296, 307, 388, 568
Cheyenne delegation............ 361
Cheyenne river..293, 294, 296, 331
Chippeways..355, 544, 548, 598, 602
Chittenden, Hiram M............ 626
Christian religion.............. 549
Christmas 364, 389
Civilized, can be.............. 526
Clarke, General..277, 310, 311, 314
Clarke, Lieut............293, 295
Clark, W. P.................... 306
Clark counsels peace........... 360
Clark, Arthur H. Co............ 728
Coal Bluff..................... 635
Coale and Maxwell.............. 404
Collections, American Antiquarian Society.................. 312
Commissioner of Indian Affairs 613
Complexion 340, 423, 618
Conclusions of Deland.......... 721
Confederated village.....294, 300
Congregational church....621, 633
Congregational Missionary Society 639
Coquard, Father................ 281
Corn 383
    Cultivation 542
    Dance 585
    Corn and meat.............. 451
    "Corn Mother".............. 610
Coues, Dr. ..283, 285, 286, 297, 392, 329, 400
Council 386
Courtship, marriage............ 545
Crawford, L.................... 519
Creation 562
Crees....288, 293, 307, 308, 313, 319
Cris Panis Blanc............... 282
Crooked river.................. 342
Crows..256, 313, 342, 357, 381, 406, 425, 431, 433, 537, 536, 548, 619

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

Mandans—Continued.
Page.
Culture, archeology and
Dakotas 300, 301
language 729
Dakota Mawatani.................. 305
Dallor, Mrs. Mary Louise...... 728
Dance, buffalo.................... 456
    Bull 502
    Corn 585
Dances and songs, scalp dance
    ....455, 557, 597
Dandies 443
Davies, Dr. Gomer E........... 728
Dead, grief for.................. 419
Death, ceremonies.............. 370
Deities 559
De L' Isle, map of.............. 282
De Land's visit.................. 639
    Conclusions 721
De Lacigne, R. B................. 329
De Smet.......................... 637
Devil's Lake region............ 294
Devil's Lake, N. D.....296, 307, 571
Dickson, Mr...................... 378
Dipauch 559, 562
Discipline 546
Dishes, clay..................... 448
Ditches, Palisades.............. 409
Dog Indians...............333, 338
Dog river........................ 344
Dogs 541
D'Orbugny 559
Dotame 336
Doughty, Hon. Albert F....... 728
Drake 282
Drawings on robes.............. 551
Drewyer, Mr...................... 379
Dwellings 606
Dube, Joseph..................... 329
Du Bois river.................... 386
Duluth 307
Durien, Mr....................... 378
Eastman, Dr. Charles.......291, 728
Eaton, Henry..................... 621
Eeh-na-dec 501
Eeh-teeh-tsa 501
Effigies, Minnesota............. 615
Egyptians 637
Elbow Woods, N. D............. 302
England 278
Entrapped by Sioux............. 459
Episcopal 633
European blood.................. 619
European playing cards........ 591
Evans, Mr........................ 255
Evil Spirit...................471, 505
Fair Skin........................ 618
Fall 313
Fall Indians...................... 358

Mandans—Continued.
Page.
Families 544
Fargnan, Raphael............... 329
Farmers 631
Fastings, feasts................. 464
Feasts, ornaments.............. 336
Festivals, the ark............... 577
Festival, buffalo................. 584
Fevers 430
First Indian council............. 351
Flatheads 282, 343, 402
Flood, Residium of.............. 501
Food 364
    Animal 544
Foolish Chief.................... 647
Fort, location of...........355, 387
Fort Atkinson.................... 300
Fort Berthold....................
    280, 283, 291, 293, 294, 300, 606,
    610.
    Deland's visit to........... 639
    Agency, Indian.............. 302
Fort Clarke.......................
    ......284, 288, 530, 561, 610, 637
    Access to.................... 551
Fortifications 610
Fort La Reine..........281, 282, 628
Fort Mandan......................
    ..283, 288, 298, 309, 389, 392, 634
Fort Stevenson.................. 300
Four Bears.......446, 477, 629, 634
Fowke, Gerard............721, 728
Freckled Pawnees............... 282
French traders.................. 617
French Trading Company...... 309
Gallatin, Albert............312, 313
Gaelic 605
Gambling 338
Games 363, 463, 473, 559
Garrow, Mr...................... 375
Gass, Patrick..............355, 391
Gens de Chevaux................ 628
Gens des Souliers............... 286
Gens dis vatch............336, 338
German sounds.................. 604
Ghost Heart..................... 647
Girard, Mr.................306, 310
Glass work...................... 614
Glazed ornaments, Rees...... 615
God 34
Golgotha 404
    Circles 419
Gonorrhoea among............. 602
Grand Bend..................... 385
Grand river..........305, 334, 396
Grand village.................... 395
Gravebines, Mr.................. 371
Grapevine 569
Great Lakes..................... 276

Mandans—Continued.
Page.
Great Medicine.................. 351
Great Spirit.................337, 465
Gros Ventre..................
280, 286, 293, 295, 300, 302, 312, 331, 339, 340, 344, 386, 390, 396, 397, 399, 406, 621.
Gulf of Mexico.................. 345
Gunn, Donald.................. 307
Habitat 278
Haewas 338
Hair 423, 619
Hairy Horn.................. 395
Half White.................. 423
Haliotis, shells.................. 616
Hall, Rev. C. L..............639, 728
Hall, Rev. R. D..............302, 304
Hamersly & Co., L. R........ 306
Ha-ña-tah-mu-mauh 421
Hancock, Mr.................. 378
Handbook of American Indians............290, 292, 296, 305
Hardihood 552
Harlan 549
Harper, F. P..............392, 728
Hayall 729
Hayden 290, 305
Head dress.................. 420
Heart river..................
289, 291, 292, 293, 296, 530, 611, 630, 722.
Henry, Alexander....277, 297, 392
Henry, Thompson, Journals...
.... 285, 329
Hidatsas....286, 292, 306, 296, 611
  Dictionary and grammar. 605
  Ethnography and philology 605
Highly civilized.................. 304
Histopa 568
Historical Society, Wisconsin. 728
History, Early.................. 611
Hit-him-in-the-back 645
Hodge. Dr. F. W............293, 728
Hokoshkis 600
Holmes, Dr. W. H....303, 627, 728
Horned Crest.................. 433
Horned Weasel.................. 359
Horns, sign of authority...... 435
Horses 368, 541
  Mexican 474
  Racing 475
Hospitality 451, 542
Hottentots 531
Houle, Louis.................. 329
Howard, General C. H........ 621
Hudson's Bay....307, 328, 349, 617
Hungarian saddles............ 592

Mandans—Continued.
Page.
OCO
Hunt 355, 365
  Antelope 593
  Buffalo 593
  Rocky mountains.......... 341
Illinois country.................. 345
Indian corn.................. 358
Indian sign language.308, 314, 366
Inhabited South Dakota...... 278
Intelligence, morality.......... 549
Interpreter to Lewis and Clarke 350
Itasca lake.................. 625
James river......291, 331, 342, 343
Jausseume, Rene.................. 396
Jeffreys' map.................. 282
Jessaume, M..............350, 379
Jewish customs.................. 436
Jonsquard, Chrysostome...... 329
Jussome 329
Justice 373
Kagohami 353
Kagonomokshe 352
Kales 338
Kani-Sachka 577
Kansas warpath.................. 332
Kinongewiniris 281
Kipp, Monsr. J..................
..............312, 438, 491, 519, 729
Kirk, Simon J..........301, 302, 728
Kites 336
Knife river..................
288, 289, 294, 298, 300, 310, 342, 343, 392, 402, 611, 612, 685.
Knisteneaux 282, 355
Ko-ka 472
Konza 540
Ladder, ancient.................. 630
Languages 613, 687
  Changes in dialects......
  ....312, 604, 620
  Ree no resemblance...... 620
  Sonants 619
La France, J. B.................. 329
La Grave, Francois.............. 329
Lake Superior..............281, 307
Lake Winnipeg..................
............280, 289, 307, 309 312
Lances 600
Laroche, Mr..................359, 372
Last race.................. 513
Laut, Agnes C., Pathfinders of the West.................. 328
Leaving of Lewis and Clarke. 382
Le Borgne..................
.......373, 374, 380, 382, 383, 405
Leggins, breech cloths....537, 634
Le Raye, Charles.............. 277
  Journal of.................. 621

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

600

Mandans—Continued.
Page.
Legend, vine.................. 521
  Earth, tortoise............ 528
Le Vaillant.................. 531
Lewis, first meeting with..... 350
Lewis and Clarke............
  277, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290, 291, 297, 298, 299, 306, 308, 311, 313, 330, 334, 401, 423, 611, 612, 633.
  Journals 345
Lightning Bolt............... 472
Liposka-numakaki 612
Little Bend.................. 324
Little Big Belly village....... 393
Little Cherry................ 382
Little Crow.................. 382
Little Missouri...........300, 573
Little Owl................291, 640
  His story.................. 641
Little Raven..............352, 364
Little Sioux river............ 333
Lodges 409, 629
  Catlin's description....... 608
  Frame of................... 607
  Interior 539
  Maximilian 608
  Medicine 609, 610
  Old Style.................. 606
  Palisades 538
  Roofs 416
  Ruins of................... 631
  Sod house.................. 630
  Women work on them.... 607
Log houses................... 608
Long, Major..............538, 596
Longsdorff 548
Lower Fall Indians........... 285
Lower White Earth........... 611
Lutaio 296
Macalester, college library... 728
Macintosh 309
Madoc, Prince................ 276
Madocian theory.............. 276
Mahaha 283
Mahas 281
Mahahas 357
Mahna-narra 530
Mahantas 281
Mahchsi-Karchde 530
Mahnon 285
Mah-sish 472
Mah-tahp-ta-ha 422
Mah-to-he-ha 422
Mah-to-toh-pa........421, 477, 482
Mahnotah 358
Mato-numangkake 530

Mandans—Continued.
Page.
Mandan.
  Aborigines of South Dakota 275
  Villages 287
Mandan, North Dakota.......
  ....278, 288, 292, 297
Man-di-tongue-go 339
Margry 327
Manitoba 307
Mantaues 281
Marque de la...316, 317, 321, 322
Marriage ceremony........... 341
Mato-Mihte 530
Matani 612
Mathews caches.............
  ......286, 305, 605, 609 617, 631,
Mato Chiha................... 531
Mato-tope 577, 600
Matootonaha 394
Ma-tao-to-ha 631
Mawtani 612
Maxmilian ....
  278, 292, 293, 301, 305, 529, 605, 635, 612, 729.
McCracken, Mr................ 349
McDonnell's Journal......... 329
McDougall's house........... 285
McIntosh's early visit........ 617
McKenzie 379, 548, 636
McLean county, N. D......... 300
Meals 542
Meat, how cured.............. 454
Medicine 589
  Bear 291
  Festivals, the ark......... 577
  Lodges 417, 529, 609, 610
  Serpents 587
  Stone 370, 588
Metaharta 285
Me-too-ta-hak 290, 306
Metutaukee 611
Metutahaukish 611
Metutahanke 631
Miahtanes 290, 305
Mich'limackinac 279
Migrations 307, 624, 630
Mihti-Shi 569
Mihti-Pihka 569
Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusn ....
  ......530, 538, 568, 572, 576, 611
Minitaree ....
  285, 286, 295, 300, 312, 313, 357, 536, 548.
  Ahnahaways 351
  Meaning of word........... 622
Minnessurraree 358
Mini-makan 296
Mi-neek-e-sunk-te-ca 422

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandans—Continued.

Page.

Miry creek 392
Mississippi river..........
..276, 291, 292, 293, 295; 309, 326
Missouri Historical Society...
.... 291, 728
Missouri Indians..........333, 430
Missouri river..........
276, 283, 288, 289, 290, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 345, 408, 638, 722, 729.
    Course of.......... 632
    Valley 294
Missionaries among.......... 633
Mitchell, D. D..........312, 617
    Letter 308, 309
Miti-Utanhanke 631
Montezuma 276
Montreal 628
Morals 633
Moreau river.....292, 293, 296, 569
Morgan..........290, 292, 306, 729
Mourning 603
Mound Builders..276, 408, 624, 726
    Controversy as to.......... 624
Mouse river..........279, 283, 379
Madoc, Prince.......... 651
Muskingum river.......... 289
Musselshell river.......... 281
Mysterious medicine.......... 499
Mystery Man.......... 498
Myths 623
    First man at sea.......... 649
    Four Bull and the flood... 650
    Holy man.......... 644
    Man, the first.......... 643
    Middle Hole.......... 645
Nahsi 568
Nanabush 560
Neill 281
    Account of Verendrye's Expedition 280
New France.......... 279
New Light on the Northwest... 392
New-Wied 610
New-Wied, Prince.......... 612
New Zeelanders.......... 538
Nolant, Sieur....317, 321, 322, 323
Norris, Col.......... 626
Northern Indians.......... 355
Northwest Company..........
..........285, 329, 359, 379, 388
Notes, Appendatory.......... 726
Nu-mah-ka-kee 612
Numangkake 529, 568, 571
Numank-Machana....559, 562, 577
Numohk-muck-a-nah 519
Nuptadi 631

Mandans—Continued.

Page.

Numeta 612 000
Obsidian quarries.......... 625
    Work of ancestors.......... 627
Oheenaw-Shahaka 370
Ohenaw 360
Ohhaw 373
Ohio..........276, 292, 289, 729
Okippe 577
Old Fort Pierre and her neighbors 284
Okandandas 343
Okeepa 610
    Ceremony 609
Omahas 281, 430
Omahank-Chiha 560
    Numakshi's stick.......... 563
Ompah..........467, 468
Ompschara 373
Oratory 550
Orders, badges.......... 552
Orders, women.......... 557
Origin 526, 530
Ornaments 532
Osage river..........330, 600
Ospekakaernousques 282
Ottoes 332
Packineau, J.......... 641
Pactineaude, Pattineaux,Chas. 641
Painted Woods, North Dakota 290
Paintille, M.......... 344
Painting 376
Paintings of explained.......... 438
    Eyes move.......... 441
Pananas 320, 326
Pananis 320
Panis 281, 333
Pantille, Mr.......... 251
Parker, S. D.......... 330
Pardo, M..........332, 338, 341, 342
Patagonians 545
Pathfinders of the West, by A. C. Laut.......... 328
Patriarchs 634
Paunch Indians.......... 357
Pawnees 43, 261, 536, 621, 723
    Of the Platte.......... 282
Peaceable, etc..........304, 422
Peace relations, neglect of government 618
Pehriska, Ruhpa.......... 599
Pemoina 598
People of the East.......... 275
People of the Pheasants.......... 274
Peron 531
Peterson, Dr. Cyrus A.......... 291
Pharaoh 636
Plants, wild.......... 543
Platte river..........282, 333

000

Mandans—Continued.

Page.

Polygamists 449
Polytheism 632
Pompey's Pillar 378
Poor Wolf 293, 294, 634
Population, various tribes 612
Portage La Prairie 628
Portraits, astonishment at 437
Pottawatomies 544
Pottery 322
  Not of civilized race ..626, 684
Prairie fires 373
Pride 551
Problems, unsolved 637
Prudery 547
Punchas 430
Quixote, Don 626
Race, declining 634
  Last of 513
Raid on meat 369
Rain making 466
  Maker 470
  Stopping 466
Ramsey, Governor 281
Raven Man 374
Rapid 312, 313
Raye, Le, Journal of 344
Red Cow 621
Red Lake Chippewas 281
Red river 281, 307
Ree 302, 396, 621
Relationship 548
Religion 492, 497
  Guardian spirit, medicine pipes 578
  Origin 362
Religious phases 311
Reynolds, Col 619
Ricara, Rickarees, Ricarus 298, 299, 313, 333, 390
  Delegation 390
  Village huts 333, 349
Riggs, Rev. Stephen R. 621
Road river 342
Robes, painting on 325
Robinson, Doane 301, 332, 728
Robinson, Dr. Delorme W. 297, 300, 313, 728
Rocky Mountains 598
Rohanka-Tanihaka 560
Rooptahee 396
Ruhptare 530, 538, 572
Ruins 347, 631
Rus 331, 340, 344
Rushing Eagle 629, 646
Ruptari 611
Sacrifices 464, 520
Saint Johns 331
Salteurs 297, 393

Mandans—Continued.

Page.

Salt Springs 343
Sam-ja-ka-ko-kah 422, 425
Sandy Lake 281
Sanford, Major 470
Santee Normal Institute 302
Santees 303
Saskaskawan river 358
Saskatchewan river 280
Sasqui river 330, 343
Satan 506
Saulier village 339
Savages 423
Savanna river 281
Say, Dr. 313, 540
Scalp dance 557, 597
Schoolcraft 310, 617, 729
School of war 595
Seehk-hee-da 422
Seeing Snake 367
See-pohs-kah-numah-kah-kee. 407
Serpents, medicine 587
Shahaka 363
Sha-ko-ka 422
Sham fight, boys 461
Shanafelt, Dr. 625
Sharhas 361
She-he-ke 401, 403
Shell river 281
Shells Abalone 616
  Dentalium 617
  Haliotes 616
  Iroquois 616
  Trade in 616
Shepherd's creek 347
Shields 600
Shoe 379
Shoe Indians 357
Shoshones 313, 352, 381
Shotawhorors 371
Shooting at short range 474
Sibley island 287, 298
Sibley rifle pits 625
Sih Chida 531
Sioux .... 292, 296, 301, 302, 303, 304, 308, 309, 312, 315, 339, 343, 380, 381, 387, 537, 598.
  Hostilities 290
  Origin 301
  Raid 344
  River 344
  Rumors of attacks on Aricaras 372
  Threats 356
  Tribe of the Northwest.. 305
Spiuské, Mihte 530
Sisseton 301
Sissatons 372

000

Mandans—Continued.

Page.

Sisters-wives 547
Skidi 290
Skin, color of 532
Smallpox 308, 635
Smoke, powder of 441
Smithsonian Institution 477
Snake Hill 392
  Tribe 375, 377, 402
Soublette 544
Souris river 279, 283, 328, 379
South Dakota 289, 296, 568, 722
South Seas 538
South villages 290, 306
Spain 278
Spaniards 326
Speeches of 353
Spinden, H. J. 729
Spirit, evil 505, 522
Sport, shooting 474
Standing Bear 647
Standing Rock Agency 639
Staitan 296
Stanton, N. D. 283, 293
Stature, hair 424
Stationary tribe 628
Steam spook 468
Steinbreuck, E. R. 288, 292, 637, 728
Stillwater river 343
St. Johns 345
St. Louis 344, 408
  River 281
St. Peter's 372
Stockades 610
Stoicism, superior 517
Stone, medicine 589
St. Peter's steamboat 635
Sudk-shih 600
Superstitions 559
Swimming 427
Tabeau, M. 373
Tanner 548
Tascodiac Effigies 625
Tattooing 537
Tawnoheo 352
Taylor, J. H. 290, 728
Te-ho-pee-nee-wash-ee-washa-pooska 499
Temperament 412
Tetons 303, 312, 372
  River 344
Teton-anah-Sioux 331
Tetuck-opinreha 373
Thanktowans 306
Thanktonwannas 306
Thomas, A. W. 640
Thompson, David 285, 329
Three Tribes 606, 611
Three rivers 343

Mandans—Continued.

Page.

Thunder Bird 561
Time, divisions of year 591, 592
Titon 343
Tortures 508
  Great Spirit victims 512
Trade, intertribal 616
  Pacific shells 616
Traders 349
Traditions 632
  Flood 519
Tranquille, Joseph 329
Traps 594
Tribal sign, tattooing 300
Tucas 276
Tunics, moccasins 431
Turtle mountain 279, 343
Two chiefs 629, 634
Tyler's creek 333
Umfreville, Edward 286
Upham, Warren 729
Upper Fall Indians 285
Upsaroka 313
Utasiaout chactas 282
Vanity 443
Verendrye, La 277
Verendrye, Chevalier 319, 321
Verendrye, Francois 328
Verendrye, Pierre 328
Verendrye ....
  280, 297, 308, 314, 327, 328, 329, 617.
  Met Mandans where 279
  Visits of 628
Victims of tortures 512
Views of Louisiana 405
Villages ....
  321, 339, 356, 404, 407, 417, 297, 606, 630, 631, 638, 729.
Visits, Verendrye 628
Wabick river 281
Wak-a-dah-hee ....
  .... 467, 468, 469, 471, 472
Walled villages 308
Waltasoons 357
Waugotap 485
Wars 308, 381, 598
  Aricaras 378
  Soldiers 344
  School of 595
  War party 475
War-rah-pa 467, 468
Warriuna river 338
Washburn, N. D. 280, 290
Washington, D. C. 313
Watazoons 386
Watapahatoes 336
Weapons 598

Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con.

Page.

000

Welsh Indians.
- Abbies of Conway.......... 658
- Aboroginal races of North America 713
- Acolhuans 689
- Acusamil 660
- Adams, John.......... 698
- Africa 700
- Alexandria manuscripts.... 666
- Alitans 703
- Alleghanies 725
- Alligewi 676, 692
- Apaches 693, 694
- Appomatox, Madoc's name.. 697
- Archbishop of Cantebury... 652
- Arkansas river.......... 703
- Arms, coat of.......... 679
- Arthur, King.......... 701
- Ashmolean museum.......... 661
- Asia 700
- Atabalipa 673
- Atlantis, Ignatius Donnely.. 711
- Authorities, other.......... 667
- Aztecs 689
  - Architecture, Welsh...... 694
  - Badges 691
  - Barbarians, not.......... 689
  - Bards, Welsh minstrelsy.. 691
  - Fortifications 692
  - Heraldry among.......... 702
  - Madoc 692
  - Missouri 692
  - Montezuma 691
  - Musical councils.......... 691
  - North 689
  - Prayers 690, 691
  - Pyramids 692
  - Religion 690
  - Supreme being.......... 690
  - Tlacopan 691
  - Turzcuco 691
  - Welsh blood.......... 695
  - Welshmen 693
  - Welsh Trials?.......... 691
- Aztlan 697
- Baldwin 688
- Bancroft 720
- Baroa, Chili.......... 692
- Baronius 674
- Bearded Indians.......... 688
- Beatty, Charles..........683, 701
- Behaim 666
- Beirdds 659
- Belknap, Dr.......... 700
- Bennet, Major General...... 661
- Berwyn mountains.......... 653
- Bible 664, 670, 672, 702
- Big Bend, Missouri river.... 705

Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con.

Page.

- Binnon, Mr.......... 669
- Blue Ridge.......... 718
- Books, how came by....... 712
  - Madoc's 685
- Bossu, Louisiana.......... 682
- Bourbourg, Abbe Brasseur de 693
- Bowen, Benjamin F..........
  - 676, 686, 690, 692, 693, 698
- Bowles, Gen.......... 675
- Bowen—Catlin 686
- Brechsa, Jean.......... 673
- British museum..........666, 671
- Britons..........666, 669, 700
  - In America.......... 660
- Broadsword 680
- Burnell, Richard.......... 669
- Cabot, John..........674, 720
- Cabot, Sebastian.......... 693
- Cadwalader 653
- Cadwallon 654
- Caerdigan 652
- Caesar 667
- Caldwell, Sir John.......... 670
- Cambrian 678
- Campbell, Dr. 663
- Canoy, General.......... 695
- Canoes 708
- Carodoc 700, 716
  - History of Wales.......... 658
- Carey, Mathew.......... 699
- Cartheginians 700
- Carver, Capt.......675, 693, 701
- Catlin 688, 698, 704, 686, 708
- Celtic discoveries.......... 673
  - Inscriptions 698
  - Words 697
- Chapman, Isaac.......... 678
- Charlevoix 682
  - Account 701
- Cherokees 720
- Cheyenne river.......... 705
- Chichemecs 689
- Chicasaws 670
- Childs, John.......... 683
- Cholulans 697
- Christian customs.......... 666
- Cia 676
- Cierniog river.......... 653
- Clavigero 689
- Clinton, Gov. De Witt...... 696
- Clochran, Lord of.......... 673
- Cochran, Mr.......... 671
- Columbia river.......... 708
- Columbus..674, 675, 680, 700, 720
- Commens, Emanuel Emperor 673
- Concise account of North America 712
- Conestoga 678

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con.

Page.

Confederations 653
Coracle, Welsh............ 708
Cortez 667, 674, 691
  Conquest 689
County Coyty............ 669
Cox's Description of Louisiana 682
Criticisms 701
Crofts 660
Crook, General, campaigns.. 693
Cozzens, Mr............ 695
Customs, mound building... 710
Cyveilioc, Owen....653, 655, 667
Dates, events of history of Mexico 689
Danes 700
Davey, John............ 655
David, Lord of Anglesey... 654
Davies, Dr. E. Gomer....... 714
Davis, Mr............ 679
Declaration of Independence 685, 698
De Laet............ 678
De Land, conclusions on Welsh 721
Delaware river............ 665
Del Norte Mexicans......... 676
Deluge Legends of America. 711
De Originibus Americanis - Hagae Comitas 660
Discoveries, British......... 673
  Celtic 673
Dispersion from Ohio....... 681
Donnelly, Ignatius......... 711
Drake, Samuel G........... 711
Druidic Circle 678
Drummond, Captain John... .... 692, 673
Drwynewn, Towerth......... 654
Duffield, Mr............ 663
Dinwiddie, Governor........ 671
Earthworks, Bon Homme Island 671
  Deposits symbolical...... 710
Ednerth, Madoc............ 653
Edwin, Owen............ 654
English reverses............ 653
Evans, Evan............723, 656
Evans, Theophilus.......... 661
European Indians.......... 683
Filson, John............668, 712
Fingal 686
Flemmings 662
Florida 633, 705
Forefathers 684
Fort Chartres 699
Fortifications, Westward, Aztec 681, 693

Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con.

Page.

Fowke, Gerard............ 717 000
Freemasonry 695, 696
Gates, General............ 685
Gentleman's Magazine...... .... 661, 668, 669, 672
Genoa 675
Gibralter 675
Glamorgan 669
Goinasco, Antonio.......... 675
Gorllewin, Pan Beirdd y.... 667
Gormora. Francis Lopez de.. 660
Greek 677, 665, 686
Griffith, Maurice............ 683
  Adventures 701
Gronw, Cynfrig ap.......... 656
Gronow, Cynfrig ap......... 659
Gryalva, Don Juande....... 673
Gryffrdd, Rhys ap.......... 655
Guahutemallians 661
Guiana, people of........... 692
Gwalchamai 667
Gwynedd ....
  Cadell 655
  Cynwric 655
  Cynan 654
  David 653
    Succession of............ 655
  Edwal 654
  Edward 659
  Einion 654
  Gwenllian 655
  Howel 654
  Jorwerth Drwyn dwn..... 659
  Llewaylyn 654
  Madoc 654
  Maelgon 654
  Meredydd 654
  Owen 652
  Rhiryd 673
  Rhun 654
Hakluyt 659, 667, 700
Harrison, President......... 681
Hawkins, Sir John.......... 675
Herbert, Sir Thomas........ ....658, 662, 667
Hebrew 667
Henry II............652, 655, 673
Henry VII............ 659
Hicks, Levi............ 665
Hieroglyphics, Celtic....... 681
History of Welsh Madoc's time 652
Hornius 660, 675
Hughes. Jack............ 670
Humbolt, Baron, Political Essays 693
Humphreys, Oliver.......... 663
Implements, Engineering... 681

ddd

Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con.
Page.
Indians of North America.. 711
Investigations, Catlin...... 698
Ireland 655, 666
Irish 673
Iroquois 670
James IV.......... 673
Jones, David.......... 667
Jones, Morgan......661, 668, 701
Jones' Musical Relics of Welsh 650
Kaskaskia 671
Kentucky 668
Ker, Henry.......... 712
Kinney's farm.......... 679
Konoskoni 677
Language, manuscript...... 688
  Test 696
Leavenworth, Kansas....... 706
Lee, Francis Henry Lightfoot 698
Leow, Dr. Oscar.......... 694
Lewis, Morgan, account.... 685
Longman, Brown, Green.... 704
Louisiana 699
Lord, Capt.......... 699
Lipsius 674
"LL" sounds.......... 668
Llanidloes 714
Lloyd, Edward.......... 661
Lloyd, H.......... 716
Lloyd, Dr. Thomas.......... 661
Lloyd's letter.......... 662
Llwyd, Charles.......... 661
Llwyd, Humphrey.......... 658
Lyttleton, Lord.......... 660
Mackenzie, Sir George....... 673
Madoc 688
  Aztecs 692
  Books 685
  Creek 677
  Encyclopedic accounts of..714
  Matoc 683
  Mississippi 706
  Prince, voyage to America 655, 699
  Return 666
  Revered 677
  Southey 703
  Theory opposed 717
  Tradition 663
  Undiscovered 662
Madog 658, 666
Madawgys, Mandans....... 706
Maelor, Angharad 654
Mama Ocello.......... 672
Manco, Capac.......... 672
Mandans ....
  Lower Missouri.......... 705

Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con.
Page.
  Madawgys 706
  Ohio river..........705, 706
Mayflower 698
McCulloch 677
Meredydd, ap Rhys.......... 656
  Madoc, ap.......... 653
Mexicans 675
  Monuments 693
Mexico. 665, 673, 724
  Celts in.......... 673
  Chronological table....... 689
  Founded 689
  Peru, Taltecs to Aztecs... 689
Mills, John H.......... 715
Mines 681
Mississippi river....665, 668, 722
  Madoc on.......... 706
Missouri river..........670, 702
Mitchel 679
Mnacedeus 712
Modocs 695
Mohave tongue.......... 698
  Welsh words.......... 695
Molina, Abbe, history by.... 691
Montezuma 672, 674
  Declarations of.......... 674
  Forefathers 673
Montezumans, civilized...... 693
Monuments, Aboriginal..... 680
Moquis in Arizona.......... 694
  Tongue 698
Morgan, Dr.......... 671
  Maurice 671
Morse, Dr.......... 688
  Report 698, 699
Mound Builders.....709, 718, 719
Mounds on Mississippi...... 709
Mount Joy Herald.......... 678
Muskingum 705
Names.......... 682
  Semi civilized tribes...... 681
  Various 671
Natches 670, 688
Natural History of Mineral Kingdom 672
Navajoes 694
New Orleans 664, 682
New Port, R. I.......... 677
Nicholson, Bishop.......... 697
Normans 622
North Carolina.......... 699
Ohio river..........665, 705
  Mandans on.......... 706
Onodaga 678
Oronoco river.......... 692
Ossian 666
Owen "British" remains.... 716
  Guthun 659

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con.
Page.
  John ... 714
  Rev. N. ... 662
Padoncas ... 668
Pawnees ... 670
Pennant ... 678
Pennsylvania ... 669
People of the Pheasants ... 707
Perth, Earl of ... 678
Peru, discovered by Madoc ... 672
Phoenecian ... 700
Pidgeon ... 679
  William ... 708
Pipestone, Minnesota ... 707
Pitt, William ... 674
Plarte river ... 705
Plott, Dr. Robert ... 661
Polar Star ... 666
Political Essays, ... Baron Humboldt 692
Polo, Marco ... 720
Pontigo ... 677
Pontygo ... 677
Powel, Dr. David ... 658, 663, 714, 716
Powys ... 653, 655
Prairie du Chein, Wisconsin 708
Prescott ... 690
Price ... 688
Pyramids, Aztecs ... 692
Queen Elizabeth ... 675
Quetzalcoatl, God of the air 690
Red Haired Indians in northwest ... 701
Red river ... 703
Reichard, Father ... 699
Researches on America ... 677
Rhys ap Gryffydd ... 652
Riccarees in Mandan villages 707
Rimington, Mr. ... 670
Ring Forts ... 679
Roanoke ... 614
Robertson ... 666
Rogers, Major ... 712
Round Tower ... 677
Roman characters ... 655
Romans ... 700
Sachem of the Doegs ... 661
Salmasius ... 674
Sampson, Low, Son & Co. ... 708
Saxons ... 662, 700
Scaliger ... 674
Schoolcraft ... 679
Scotch Mexicans ... 678
Serpent Mound ... 719
Severn river ... 652
Sevier, Governor, letter of ... 702
Shawanaugh ... 664
Shelburne, Lord ... 672

Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con.
Page.
Sibley, Dr. ... 690
Silurian Welsh ... 683
Silver Cross ... 680
Sketches, historical and descriptive ... 699
Sounds, gutteral ... 688
South Dakota ... 705
Southey Robert ... 703
Spaniards ... 666, 672, 689
Spanish ... 674
Squier ... 679
St. David's Brecon ... 661
St. Domingo ... 677
Stedman ... 622
  Adventure ... 701
Stewart Captain ... 664
  Isaac ... 701
Stoddard. Major Amos ... 699
Stonaherge ... 678
Stuart, Captain Isaac ... 713
Susquehanna ... 679
Sutton, Benjamin ... 664
Sutton and Hicks ... 701
  Stewart accounts ... 664
Table of words ... 687
Taliessyn ... 667
Thayer, Bridgman and Fanning ... 708
Thomas, Rev. Eleazer ... 695
Times, Tlanidloes and Montgomery ... 715
Tlapallan ... 690
Tlascalans ... 697
Toby's creek ... 679
Toltocs ... 689
Traditions of DeCooDah ... 708
Trahaearn, Llywarch ap ... 654
Travels in North America, Carver ... 693
Tribes, why unknown ... 667
Tuscoraras ... 665, 676
  Welsh? ... 661
Upper Lake mines ... 681
Vancouver ... 703
Vera Cruz ... 675
Virginia ... 663
Virginians ... 661
Wales, history of, Warrington ... 652
Warrington, Rev. William ... 652
Welsgeans ... 678
Welsh colony, Catlin ... 705
  Dissensions ... 653
  Embassy to France ... 655
  Immortals in America ... 698
  Nation in America, Stoddard ... 699
  Succession, Gwladys ... 654

000

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

- Mandans—Welsh Indians—Con. Page.
      - Track 669
      - Tribes 665
    - Wheeler's Expedition....... 694
    - White civilization in South America 691
    - White Indians............677, 685
    - Willain, Colony..........670, 688
    - Williams, Dr................ 692
    - Williams, Edmund........... 669
    - Williams, Edward.......... 670
    - Williams, J. 657, 666, 667, 672, 675
    - Williams, Roger............ 698
    - Williams, W................ 656
    - William the Lion........... 654
    - Winchester 671
    - Words.
      - Bara 662
      - Buwch 662
      - Clug, Jar.................. 662
      - Coch-y-dce 662
      - Groeso 662
      - Gwenddwr 662
      - List of Welsh..........688, 714
      - Llwynog 662
      - Mam 662
      - Pangwyn 662
      - Tabulated 687
      - Tad 662
    - Wye river.................. 653
    - Wynne, W.................. 658
    - Wyoming 658
    - Zumarraga 689
    - Zurita, jurist.............. 689
  - Welsh language............... 303
  - Welsh origin.................. 276
  - Welsh theory.........310, 633, 651
  - Wheeler, Hon. Olin D .627, 629, 728
  - Whence came they........... 289
  - Where found by.............. 282
  - White Beards................. 280
  - White Buffalo Robe.......... 465
  - White Earth river............ 569
  - White Indians................ 313
  - White iner liars............... 415
  - White Pawnees............... 282
  - White river..292, 293, 333, 343, 568
  - White Wolf.................. 402
  - Will, J. H.................... 729
  - Williams, Charles............ 331
  - Williams, Daniel............ 290
  - Willow Branch.............. 520
  - Wilson, Major.............. 284
  - Winnebago 292
  - Winnipeg 279
  - Wisconsin 292
  - Wolf creek.................. 392
    - Indians 333
- Mandans—Continued. Page.
    - Traps 594
  - Women, work of............. 450
  - Wounds, healing of.......... 601
  - Yanktonais 291, 343
  - Yanktons 303, 372
  - Yellowstone river. 342, 408, 465, 468, 476
  - Young, Rev. S. Hall......... 625
  - Zedekiah 436
- Man-do-ton-que-qua 178
- Man-di-tongue-go 165
- Mare Kristian 143
- Marivelli, Guiseppi............... 260
- Marketings, actual...........72, 86
- Marks.
  - Biography 215
  - Constant R.............. 213
    - Photo 214
  - Life of Theophile Bruguier 263
  - French pioneers of Sioux City 255
- Martin, Marie Charlotte.......... 218
- Masonry 209
- Mauvaise Terres............... 230
- McDowell, Robert Eugene...... 101
- McLaughlin, Major............ 185
- McPherson county............ 61
- Melburn 250
- Menard, Amelia................ 256
  - Louis 252
    - Family of.............. 256
- Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah.......... 167
- Meniture 167
- Methodism 208
- Meyers, Frank................ 116
- Midland 62
- Miles, General................ 193
- Millard, Dr. Albert............ 199
- Miller, Mrs. Mary............ 205
- Milwaukee R. R..........61, 75, 199
- Mine river.................... 152
- Minerals 85
- Minnesota 250
- Missouri 150, 155, 256
  - Fur Company.........125, 132
- Mitain 135
- Mobridge 75
- Montreal 219, 241
- Mooeres, Charles.............. 209
  - Henry 209
- Morals, public..............74, 87
- Morgan, General John.......... 211
- Morrow, Sarah M............. 200
- Munk, Captain................ 144
- Murdo 62
- Museum 14
  - List of specimens........58-60
- Myer, Mr...................... 241

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

Page.
Mystic 61
Natural Science 36
New Haven 200
Newspapers, bound volumes 18, 25
New settlers 62
New towns 63
New Ulm 250
Nez Perce 157
Niagara 219
Nickel, August 159
Normans 143
Northwestern R. R. 61, 75
Note, Deland 455
Note, editorial, Doane Robinson 274
Nootsa-pah-zasah 173
Norseman, did they visit Dakota 159
Oak creek 187
Oak Park 198
Oats 69, 84
Officers, State Historical Society 5
Officers, State 76
Ogdensburg 199
Okatan 62
Omaha 129, 135
O'Neill, Henry 139
    Judge James 199
Onidas 145
Osage 150
Otloes 155
Pacific extension 61
Padanic 250
Paquette 213
    Paul 255, 259
Paintille, Mr. 180
Pal-lo-to-path 173
Panis 155
Pardo 154, 165
Paunched Indians 170
Pease, Hon. John M. 81
Pecaut, Gustav 259
Perry creek 240
Philology 36
Philosophy, works on 25
Picotte, Henri 220, 236, 255
Piegan 221
Pierre, R. R. to 61, 75, 256, 251
Pike, Lieutenant 128
Pittsfield 213
Pizarro 134
Plainfield 200
Plankinton 200
Politics 73
Poncars 159
Pontaic 193
Portraiture, gallery of 14
Postoffice, new buildings 63
Posts established by Lisa 123
    Founded by Lisa 127
Pottawatomies 128

Page.
Potsdam Academey 197
Poultry and dairying 72, 85
Pratt creek 243
Presho, R. R. to 61, 62, 75
Price, Col. M. M. 74
Prices, General 72, 85
Primeau, Mr. 244, 250
Proceedings 9
Progress, annual review of state 61
    General Legislative Reference Division 10
Provost, Mr. 259
Pryor, Ensign 123
Public affairs 76
Quebec 218, 239
Railroads 65, 75
    Legislation on 62
    Milwaukee building 61, 75
    Northwestern 61, 75
    St. Louis 61, 75
Rainfall 81
Ramer, M. M. 73
Ramsey 223
Rapid, A. Pablo 229
Rapid City, R. R. to 61
Rapiguage 233
Ridgeville 209
Red Jacket 193
Red river 132
Religion 26, 28
Renner 61
Review, annual 61, 75
Ricaras 158
    Huts 159, 160
    Industries 161
Rieze 233
Ripley 211
Road river 169
Robinson, Doane
    Annual Review, 1906 61
    1907 75
    Rescue of Fanny Kelly 109
    Editorial note 274
Rodgers, Mary 210
Rooms 15
Rouleau, Charles 241, 256
Rosebud Agency 256
Roulo City 242
Rowan, Margaret 197
Ruger, General 187
Rulo, Nebraska 256
Runic Stone 142
Rus 158
Rustin, Charles 250
Sacque river 162
Sacs and Foxes 128
Saint John 180
Saint Louis 179
Salt Springs 169

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000

Page.
Sanitation 64
Santees 172
Santee Agency 259
Santi 250
Sarpy, Peter A. 219, 226, 230
Sasqui river 170
Scandinavian, cemetery 62
Seigneurie 224
Selkirk, Lord 132
Settlers, new 62, 75
Shave Head 190
Shaw, Isabella 197
Sheldon, Rev. P. K. 199, 242
Shodie, Joseph 248
Sioux 127, 157, 159
Sioux City 216, 242, 250, 256
  Academy of Science 216
Sioux Falls 61
Sioux Point 248
Sitting Bull's camp, diagram of. 191
  Capture of 185
Slocum, Lieutenant 188
Small, Dairy Commissioner 64
Smith Land 240
Snake 173
Sociology 28, 35
Sorel 255
Souris, Mouse river 279, 288, 379
South Dakota Central R. R. 75
Specimens in museum 58-60
Speltz 71
Spider, Mrs. Amelia 256
Spink county 61
Spirit Lake 250
Standing Rock reservation 61, 185
Stanton 241
State Exchange 15
State Library 13
Statement, finance 8
State Historical Society 5
  Corresponding members 6
  Deceased members 7
  Efforts of 11
  Members, honorary 6
  Members, life 6
State United 75
Steele, Lieutenant 186
Sterling, Thomas, photo 88
  Address 89
St. Ambrose 218
St. Jean 219
St. Joe 256
St. Joseph 241
St. Lawrence river 193
St. Louis 219, 255
  Railroad 61, 75
St. Peter's river 178

Page.
Strike-the-Kettle 190
Stock, live 85
Stone, Crawler's sacred, photo 113
Subordinate committees 5
Sully, Fort, diagram of 117
Summary, Final 72
  General 85
Sumner, Col. 192
Table I, Assessed valuation 65
Table II, Weather 67
Tacket, George 224
  Life of 260
T-a-kar-tha 177
Tamaha 128
Taun 169
Tecumpseh 193
Tetons 127
Teton river 179
Timber, Mrs. Missouri 256
Titon-ahan-danas 179
Titon-bois-bruil 179
Titon-sa-oo-nu 179
Tornado 81
Towns, new 62
Transmittal, letter of 4
Tribute, A Brother's, Frank B. Ainsworth 205
Troy 219
Traversier, August 255
  Travels of 257
Tuton river 159
Turtle 177
Twin cities 208
Tyler's creek 158
Viking anchor, cut of 141
Wah-pa-coo-tah 178
Wakons 162
Wallace, Captain 192
Walworth county, railroad in 61
Warriuna 165
Washington, George 136
Watertown 61, 200
Weather 66, 80
West fork 250
Wheat Statitstics, durum, white 68
  Winter 73, 83
White Castle 230
White, Germoe 250
White river 168
Wipf, Secretary of State 63
Wolf Indians 155
Works, general 16, 18
Wounded Knee 192
Yale college 200
Yanktonais 250
Yankonton-ansah 178
Yellowstone 168